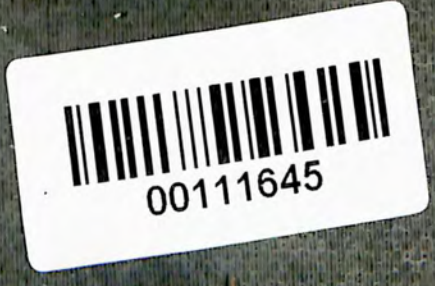
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THE

EXAMINATIONS AND WRITINGS

OF

JOHN PHILPOT, B.C.L.

ARCHDEACON OF WINCHESTER:

MARTYR, 1555.

111645

EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. ROBERT EDEN, M.A. F.S.A.

LATE FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD;
AND MINISTER OF ST MARY'S CHAPEL, LAMBETH.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE

OF

JOHN PHILPOT, B.C.L.

THE life of the excellent man, whose Examinations and literary remains occupy the present volume, was not throughout an eventful one. Its main interest is gathered up into its closing period. For, although the whole of the history of JOHN PHILPOT was cast in with times which were themselves most eventful, yet the part which he himself took was conspicuous only towards the end of his career.

He was born in the year 1511, his father being Sir Peter Philpot, knight of the bath, of Compton, in Hampshire, who was twice sheriff of that county; and who, availing himself of the contiguity of his residence to Winchester, resolved to give his son, from an early period of his youth, the benefits of the education which Wykeham's school presented. The son appears to have early manifested a love of learning, and abilities more than respectable; and of the incidents that might support this opinion, one is preserved by Strype, who relates that at "Wickham College he profited in learning so well, that he laid a wager of twenty pence with John Harpsfield, that he would make two hundred verses in one night, and not make above three faults in them. Mr Thomas Tuchyner, schoolmaster next before Mr White, was judge; and adjudged the twenty pence to Mr Philpot." The study of languages seems to have been the pursuit most congenial to his taste; and if we may form any conclusion from the anecdote just recited, classical reading, and the poetical part of it, was the department of learning in which his

genius excelled. His fondness for the Greek and Latin languages, probably, led him to acquaint himself in comparative youth with the theology that is contained in the writings of those early divines to whom, on account of their high antiquity, we are accustomed to concede the appellation of "Fathers:" and it cannot be doubted, that the just view which he took of their sentiments on many of the litigated topics of his day was to be referred, as in part to his naturally sound judgment, so, in an important degree, to the foundation of classical learning which had been securely laid at school.

But it seems to have been in Hebrew that Philpot made the greatest proficiency; and as the text-book for the study of that language, and almost the only literature it contains, is the holy Scripture of the old testament, we may conclude that his mind, by continually dwelling upon that sacred book in his cultivation of the language which he admired, gradually opened, under divine guidance, to the true meaning of its contents. And as the old testament is the key to the new, it may thus have happened that his study of the Hebrew language contributed to that enlightened interpretation of the gospel records, which was at once a striking contrast to the darkness of the minds of churchmen in those days, and also, as a reprover of that darkness, the instrument which conducted him to martyrdom. It is not a little remarkable, however, that his study of Hebrew was seriously adduced by a bitter opponent, as an early proof of the tendency of his mind to what was eccentric. The intention of Philpot, at first, was to pursue the civil law; which circumstance, viewed in conjunction with his Hebrew acquirements, drew from Persons, a virulent papist of that day, the following singular remark: "Foxe noteth that he gave himself to the study of tongues, especially to the Hebrew tongue, which, he being a lawyer, doth well shew, that even then he was touched with some humour of new fancies, the

Hebrew tongue being little needful to that profession[1]." But what could be more unreasonable, than to find materials of quarrel against another, because in his capacity as a christian man, and without any reference to the professional use to which such a study might afterwards become subservient, he had determined to acquaint himself with the language in which "holy men" of old wrote and "spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost?"

We learn from Antony à Wood, the Oxford antiquarian, that Philpot was admitted "true fellow" of New College in the year 1534[2]; and from a note by the editor of a late reprint of Wood, that he took the degree of B.C.L. about the same time. If that date be correct, he must have been elected from Winchester at an age somewhat later than is now usual; or the time of his being a probationary fellow must have been prolonged beyond the present practice: the former supposition being the most probable, because the length of the probationary period must have been fixed by the statutes, and therefore could not be variable. The same historian tells us that Philpot "had a civilian's place there;" by which is to be understood, that the fellowship which he held was one on the "law" foundation, which was originally designed by the founder for the cultivation of that science; though the holders of those fellowships were then, as now, permitted to pursue theology and take holy orders. And this may have been the only ground for the ill-natured remark of Persons above related, who may have been ignorant of that which Philpot was ever aware of, that his acceptance of a law-fellowship did not bind him to follow that profession, and was therefore entirely consistent with the intention, whether then or subsequently formed, of entering into the christian ministry.

[1] "Three Conversions," iii. 287.

[2] Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. iv. p. 240.

Of the events which made up the history of the ensuing eight years of his life, we have no record; the next account of him being the forfeiture of his fellowship in 1541, which "fell void," says Wood, "because of absence, being then on his travels." An incidental notice of these travels occurs in his "Examinations," where one of the civil commissioners, Dr Saverson, reminds Philpot that he had met with him abroad some time before. With what view he had gone upon foreign travel, may with tolerable certainty be concluded, if we consider the state of his own mind and the circumstances of the period during which he was an absentee from England. In the very year in which he was made an actual fellow of his college, the papal supremacy in England was annulled by parliament, and that of the king recognised; the quarrel of Henry the eighth and of England with Rome became irreconcileable; the parliament[1] declared its own "authority to abrogate, null, amplify, diminish, or dispense with all human laws of this realm," and forbad the payments of faculties formerly made to the see of Rome; the oath of supremacy to the king, under whom these ominous changes were made, was imposed; and the determination of purpose with which it was to be exacted, was made conspicuous by the committal to the tower of two recusants, though found among the highest orders both in church and state; and finally, a complete edition of Luther's translation of the bible had come out. These occurrences had all been crowded into one year, 1534: and if we pass on to that immediately following, when we find the protestants so advanced in resoluteness as to refuse to attend the pope's summons to any council which might be convened in Italy, and behold the Reformation making progress in Geneva and Poland; we shall

[1] MS. Hist. of the persons educated at New College, Oxford, Bod. MS. Rawl. Misc. 130, fol. 55, where he is termed 'Constans Martyr pro Verbo Dei, regnante Maria regina.'

perceive, in the events which only these two years developed, a character so plainly predictive of some mighty movement in things religious which the world should ere long witness, that, without pursuing the inquiry into subsequent years, we shall see abundant reasons why Philpot should desire at least a temporary absence from home.

This then appeared to be a convenient period for seeking the advantages of foreign travel, to improve and expand his mind. He would escape from times that were troublous, and from the thorny (and usually unproductive) field of controversy. His absence excused him from witnessing the commencement of these days; but providence designed him both to witness and share the hottest portion of them. Italy was the country into which he travelled; and there he dwelt principally at Rome: at all events some considerable period must have been passed in that city; for we find one of his opponents attempting to account for Philpot's aversion to certain tenets of the Romish faith, from the corruption of manners which he had witnessed during his stay in that city, which had created a disgust towards the religion. Whilst travelling in Italy, the frankness of his disposition engaged him in conversation with those whom he met; and as his mind was full of the absorbing subjects of religious truth, he naturally adverted to it in his conferences with fellow-travellers. On one occasion, sailing from Venice to Padua, he encountered a Franciscan friar, one who passed for a man of no common learning with his own people; but whom Philpot satisfactorily sifted, so as to pronounce him to be nothing more than a man well instructed in the scholastic subtilties of his day. With this friar Philpot held a discussion, which, while it enabled the latter to gage with exactness the theological depth of his opponent, so irritated the friar that he threatened to represent him as a heretic on their arrival at Padua: but there is no account of his having carried this menace into

execution. He who "restrains the fierceness of men," withheld the Franciscan from his vindictive purpose; and the Inquisition was cheated of a victim, who was reserved to be an offering upon the important cause of the Reformation.

Though Philpot had felt a growing conviction, for a length of time, that Romanism was untrue, it does not appear that he had as yet arrived at any positive conclusion respecting the system which was to be adopted in its stead. His mind had been long and deeply dissatisfied with the papal doctrines; but had not yet worked out any definite set of views which should supply their place. It is to be believed that he quitted Oxford, on his Italian tour, with a strong disapprobation of Romanism; and, possibly, with a presentiment that, if he returned to England, it would be to resist the system in which he had been nurtured: but a residence in the country and the metropolis of that religion formed a part of the process whereby his convictions were to be deepened, and his faith assured. He would have too much wisdom not to discriminate between the wickedness that his eyes witnessed in Rome during his stay there, and the truth of the religion whose principal seat that corrupt city claimed to be; and he could be in no danger of arriving at a false conclusion respecting Romish principles, when he mingled with the ecclesiastics of the country, and received his impressions of that faith from the lips of its own ministers. The expedition from Venice to Padua in the society of the friar was amongst the means which contributed to the deliverance of his mind from grievous error; and we may well suppose that when he stood a prisoner in his own land at a tribunal not more equitable than that with which the friar had endeavoured to frighten him in Italy, and was reminded of that journey in years gone by, the reminiscence was one which only served

to nerve his resolution in that trying hour, by recalling to his thoughts the shallowness of the arguments by which it was sought to support the system which he was now exposing. It fixed his determination to oppose it, if he needs must, even "unto the death."

When Philpot returned to England, he gave unequivocal evidence that his religious views were totally different from those in which he had been nurtured. This change had begun to work for several years before he travelled to Italy: it was matured and deepened by his residence in that country, and its plain fruits appeared, when, upon his return, he read lectures upon St Paul's Epistle to the Romans in the cathedral of Winchester, "which, though gratis," says Anthony Wood, "were not acceptable to the cathedral clergy or the citizens of that place." There is no record to fix the period at which he entered into holy orders: it is pretty clear that he had not taken that step before he went abroad; and it is probable that he did not long defer it after his return, because he seems to have come back with all his doubts removed, and his mind finally made up as to the principles which he would advocate. Nor was this all: he was resolved not to "hide under a napkin" the truth which had been revealed to his heart. Many have been the instances of a conversion from error to truth, where the change has, apparently, amounted to nothing more than an abandonment of false tenets, and an adoption of sound opinions in their place: but still opinions they are, and nothing more. The change has been from "darkness to light" mentally, without satisfactory evidence that the subject of that increased intellectual light has been turned from "the power of Satan unto God." We are warranted, however, from the whole tenour of Philpot's life subsequently to his renunciation of Romish errors, as well as from many of his written sentiments, to decide that his newly adopted views did not per-

mit him to remain "barren or unfruitful" in divine knowledge, but actively "alive unto God through Jesus Christ."

Moved with a holy zeal in the cause of truth, he exercised his ministry in the furtherance of Reformation principles. His disinterested efforts in lecturing at Winchester have been referred to: we are informed too, that he preached much in different parts of that county; by which latter course he rendered himself as obnoxious to bishop Gardiner, as by the former he had displeased his clerical brethren and the inhabitants of Winchester. But the impulse which guided him, and the explanation of his perseverance, are to be found in the confession of St Paul, "We have believed, and therefore have spoken." Gardiner, as his ordinary, would have suppressed his teaching, but could not: which Strype thus records: "Stephen, bishop of Winton, now bare ill will against this godly gentleman, and forbad him preaching oftentimes in king Henry's reign. But he could not in his conscience hide his talent under this prince, and in so popish a diocese."

The portion of scripture which Philpot chose for his lectures in Winchester cathedral is of so peculiar a character, as to justify us in regarding his selection of it as an index of the state of his mind. The key-note of that celebrated epistle is justification by the meritorious obedience of Christ, exclusive of any work of man. Such a doctrine, while it was directly contradictory of the Romish notion of human merit, Philpot knew to be the central truth of the gospel of Christ: he found it running as a bright silver stream through the epistles to the Galatians and Colossians, but with deep and swelling tide through that to the Romans. This, therefore, was his text-book; and we may well imagine the fervour and the force with which he pressed home the conclusions which the strong mind of the apostle had so logically drawn from the fact that "both Jew and Gentile are all under sin." What were his views upon the great matters of which that

epistle treats, is no speculation, since both his "Examinations" and "Letters" contain expressions which place his sentiments beyond all doubt, and shew that he did not fraternize with any views, which would virtually deny to justification that plenary sufficiency, which scripture, unperverted by human glosses, plainly assigns to it.

The advancement of Philpot to the archdeaconry of Winchester took place in the reign of Edward the Sixth; but the precise time cannot be ascertained. His predecessor was William Bolen, who had succeeded to the office in 1528, upon the resignation of Richard Pates, who became bishop of Worcester. Bolen held the office of archdeacon for twenty years; a duration which was in affecting contrast to the brief and suffering space permitted to his successor. It appears that bishop Gardiner had nominated him, prospectively, to the office of archdeacon; a promise which we might be inclined to suppose had been given many years before; since it would appear improbable that that prelate would have shewn any favour to him after his principles had become so changed as they were on his return from Italy. But however this be, the nomination which Gardiner had given him, it was left to his successor to make good.

If Gardiner had been mistaken in his man, not so bishop Ponet, who found in Philpot all he desired. But the archdeaconry was not to be a resting-place for his feet. A misunderstanding arose between him and the bishop, through the malicious interference of one of that prelate's officials. Let Strype tell the story of this quarrel: "There was," writes that historian, "in the latter end of king Edward, an unhappy difference started between Poynet, the learned bishop of Winton, and him; fomented and devised by Cook the register, a man that hated pure religion. He informed the said bishop, whether true or false I know not, that there was a yearly pension due to him from the archdeacon. This

causing contention between them, hence intolerable troubles arose, and slanders in that diocese to them both; while so good a bishop, at the setting on of so rank a knave, could find in his heart to vex his brother, so conspicuous both for learning and for life. Another instance of Cook's malice towards the archdeacon was this: Cook, having married a lady, rode with more men than the archdeacon himself; and taking this opportunity of number of attendance, once forestalled the way between Winchester and Mr Philpot's sister's house, about three miles from the said city, whither he was going; and, lying in wait for him, set his men upon him and sore beat him, overdone by number: for otherwise the archdeacon had as lusty a courage to defend himself, as in disputation against popish prelates to impugn their doctrine. But though he were thus beaten, hurt and wounded, yet remedy he could have none in the spiritual court, the bishop, as well as this his register, being in contest with him."

History is far from being particular in recording the occupations of Philpot during the period that intervened between his return from Italy, and the eventful opening of Mary's reign. It has been remarked that he was not actually made archdeacon of Winchester until bishop Ponet filled that see, to which that prelate was preferred upon the deprivation of Gardiner, probably in the autumn of 1550. His return to England could scarcely have taken place before the spring of 1547, when the persecution of the famous Six Articles was stopped, and liberty was given to all persons to profess their belief. At this time the doors of the prisons, which had held captive many faithful servants of God, were thrown open; and many returned to England, who had fled beyond the seas to enjoy that free exercise of conscience which is the inalienable right of every free-born man, but which the intolerance of the times had denied to

not a few. Miles Coverdale, afterwards bishop of Exeter; John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Gloucester; and John Rogers, subsequently appointed to a prebend in St Paul's, were among the most distinguished of those who had been invaded in the exercise of their liberty of conscience; whose restoration to this privilege, in conjunction with Philpot, we may, in the absence of evidence, (in the latter case at least,) suppose to have taken place in the year when the persecuting edict had ceased to act. Zealous preaching of pure christian truth, and the careful fulfilment of his archidiaconal functions, seem to have filled up the space between his return to England and the commencement of Mary's reign. Whatever countenance Philpot was permitted to give to the rising cause of the Reformation, whatever impression he was destined to make upon his times, was comprised within the narrow compass of time that, by the will of a mysterious providence, Edward was allowed to occupy the throne.

The proceedings of his archdeacon were, meanwhile, jealously observed by Gardiner, the deprived bishop of Winchester; and one who had been so diligently helping forward the obnoxious cause, would be unlikely to reap any great measure of kindness from that prelate, when the time should arrive for the recovery of his dignity.

The year 1553, which saw Mary ascend the throne of England, witnessed the beginning of sore troubles to the church. By the queen's command, the convocation had a summons to meet at St Paul's on the sixth day of October, when a sermon was preached by Harpsfield, the chaplain of bishop Bonner, now restored to the see of London. It may serve as an illustration of the temper of the prevalent party, to insert the abstract of this sermon with which Jeremy Collier[1] has furnished us. Harpsfield's "text was, 'Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the

[1] Eccles. Hist. Vol. vi. p. 37, Lond. 1840.

Holy Ghost has made you overseers.' From the words he took occasion to speak to three propositions: his first head was, how well St Paul practised his own doctrine; secondly, how much the late clergy managed wide of the apostle's exhortation; and thirdly, he pointed out the methods for the discharge of what was commanded in the text. Under the second head he ran out into a violent invective against the management of the clergy in the late reign; that they misbehaved themselves to a remarkable degree, both with respect to government and private life. He charged them with insobriety and epicurism, with flattering great men and servile applications to the court, with omissions in hospitality and regard to the poor, with boasting their great knowledge in the scriptures, and presuming to compare themselves with the most eminent fathers, whereas some of them mounted the pulpit from the shop, and were scarcely grammar high. Then, as to the care of their flocks, he said they had miserably mismanaged: they had made a breach in the unity of the church, poisoned the kingdom with heterodoxy, and misled great numbers to endless perdition. In short, he omitted nothing which might discover a passionate and unfriendly temper, and carried his satire to the last degree of roughness and reproach." This sermon, which with four orations was printed by Cawood, the queen's printer, in 1554, is given at length by Strype, in his "Ecclesiastical Memorials[1]." An interval of at least a fortnight elapsed between the sermon and the commencement of business. Cawood's book represents the 26th of that month (October) as the day when business began; but Strype, after noticing the latter date, adds, "or rather the 16th," while Collier assigns the opening of the proceedings to the 18th day of the month. It is certain that "in the first session of this convocation all that was done was, that the bishops, by the

[1] Vol. iii. Pt. i. pp. 60—65.

mouth of Bonner, admonished the lower house to choose a Referendary or Prolocutor, and so adjourned. Dr Hugh Weston, dean of Westminster, that had some impediment in his speech, but otherwise a bold man, and that had never complied in the last reign, and in great favour with the queen, was elected, and the next session presented to the bishops by William Py, dean of Chichester, and John Wymsbesly, archdeacon of London, each of whom made a speech[2];" their address being followed by one from the bishop of London[3].

When the business of the convocation commenced (either on the 16th or 18th of October, 1553) two questions were first proposed for consideration, the forty-two Articles, and the Book of Common Prayer: and with the former question was associated the Catechism which had been published a short time before king Edward's death. On Friday the 20th of October, Weston the prolocutor presented to the house two bills, which had already obtained his own signature; in the one of which, treating of the Catechism, that formulary was described as "pestiferous and full of heresies," as having been "foisted upon the last synod fraudulently, and therefore that the present synod disowned it[4]." It was for his firm refusal to sign the document which branded a Catechism that had both truth and synodal authority on its side, quite as much as for his resistance to transubstantiation and the mass, that Philpot, at the close of this convocation, was visited with the severe penalties which lighted upon his head.

The account of the proceedings of the convocation are given so fully in the following pages, that to dwell upon them here is superfluous. It is impossible, however, to withhold an expression of astonishment at the issue of this me-

[2] Strype, Eccl. Mem. Vol. III. pp. 65—67.
[3] Strype, Ibid. Vol. iii. pp. 71—73.
[4] Strype, Mem. Cranm. Vol. i. p. 423.

morable synod. It is scarcely credible, and would not be received as true unless established by undoubted historical testimony, that a meeting, to the members of which the queen had given "full liberty of speech," should have resulted in the severest treatment of one of its members who had claimed, but not abused, that liberty. Philpot was "excommunicated 'as contumacious,' without any personal citation, illegally deprived of his archdeaconry, and committed to the king's bench prison[1]."

In this durance, the wages of his intrepid advocacy of scriptural truth, Philpot remained for a period of very nearly two years. According to the most literal interpretation of the words, he had "suffered the loss of all things[2]:" but we know also from his own statements in his letters, that he "took joyfully the spoiling of his goods;" and that the ground of this joy was the knowledge that he had "in heaven a better and an enduring substance[3]." The seeming paradox of being "as sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing[4]," was during his imprisonment vindicated and realized; the secret of that "rejoicing being this, the testimony of his conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, he had had his conversation in the world[5]."

If Philpot during his imprisonment was cheered by the "comfort of the Holy Ghost," so also was he not left destitute of the bodily presence of consoling friends. For associated with him in the bonds of the gospel were Hooper, Farrar, Taylor, and Bradford; in conjunction with the latter three of whom Philpot wrote a letter, "concerning the Freewillers," to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, then prisoners in Oxford. Of this letter, written some time dur-

[1] Hist. of the Reformation by H. Soames, M.A. Vol. iv. p. 482.
[2] Philip. iii. 8.
[3] Heb. x. 34.
[4] 2 Cor. vi. 10.
[5] 2 Cor. i. 12.

ing the year 1554, Bradford was the composer, the other three signing it to express their concurrence in its sentiments. The concluding sentence expresses in lively terms the readiness of each of these holy men "to be offered upon the service and sacrifice of" the christian "faith:" "All here (God therefore be praised!) prepare themselves willingly to pledge our Captain Christ, even when he will and how he will. By your good prayers we shall all fare the better; and therefore we all pray to you to cry to God for us, as we, God willing, do and will remember you. My brethren here with me have thought it their duty to signify this need to be no less than I make it, to prevent the plantations which may take root by these men[6]."

In the month of April, 1554, the famous disputations were held at Oxford, at the end of which Cranmer was condemned for heresy. "It was such an imaginary victory as they had now got at Oxford, that they intended also to obtain at Cambridge; and much talk at this time arose, that Hoper, Rogers, Crome and Bradford, whom they had in prisons at London, were to be had to this university, to be baited as Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, newly had been at Oxford; and several of the doctors at Oxford should be sent in likewise to Cambridge for this purpose. But Hoper, Farrar, Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, and the others, having the inkling of it, consulted among themselves what to do; and resolved to decline it, unless they might have indifferent judges[7]." A confidential messenger was dispatched to Oxford to obtain the opinion of the three illustrious prisoners in that place upon the question, whether it would be the duty of Philpot and his brethren to obey any summons which might be sent them to dispute at Cambridge. The purport of the answer which Ridley returned was, that he could not

[6] Strype's Mem. of Cranm. Vol. ii. Appendix, No. LXXXIII. p. 958.
[7] Strype's Mem. of Cranm. Vol. ii. Appendix, No. LXXXIII. pp. 489, 490.

blame them if they should decline to appear at Cambridge; for that they could expect nothing but cruel handling from the same commissioners as had acted at Oxford, 'though ye were as well learned,' (said he,) 'as ever was either Peter or Paul.' It was possible, however, that they might yet be induced to engage in such a disputation, if it should appear that important benefit might arise to their hearers. He abstained from giving any decisive counsel on the point, but trusted that "he whose cause they had in hand would put them in mind to do that which should be most for his glory, the profit of his flock, and their own salvation."

The purpose of the authorities to hold a disputation at Cambridge became no longer doubtful, Weston and his associates having taken out the commission. Hoper sent early intimation of the steps which were being taken to Philpot and his fellow-prisoners, urging them to "refuse wholly to dispute," unless the original authors from which their opponents proposed to quote were brought forward, and unless also the reporters were placed under the obligation of an oath to give a true statement of what was uttered. Moreover they were advised, in case they perceived any secret conferences being carried on, or any contemptuous language used by their opponents, to break off the disputation in the midst, and to appeal for a hearing before the queen. Such were the precautions employed: but Philpot and his brethren were spared the occasion which would have made them useful; for it does not appear that the intended disputation was held. From the king's bench prison the Archdeacon was removed to the sessions'-house, by Newgate, on the second of October, 1555; and having been examined before the queen's commissioners, was by that board committed to the custody of bishop Bonner.

We are indebted to Foxe, the martyrologist, for an interesting detail of the latter scenes of the life of this emi-

nent man. He conducts the account from the time of his committal to Bonner's custody to the stake at Smithfield, on the eighteenth day of December, 1555. The glorious catastrophe of Philpot's career has denied to his memorialist the power of pointing to his monument or his grave. But "his sepulchre is with us unto this day;" not only in the existence of Smithfield, and the reminiscence which it contains of this venerable witness to Christ's truth, whose soul ascended amid flames kindled in the midst of its area: it is "with us" every time that we exclaim in the congregation, "The noble army of Martyrs praise thee."

Herbert's Ames speaks of "A Epytaph of John Philpotte, 1564:" but the Editor has not been able to meet with it.

The death by which this holy man was enabled "to glorify God" might have been prevented, if he could have been induced to recant, or even so far to modify his former strong statements, as to give his judges a pretext for releasing him without compromising their characters as protectors of the church. The imprisonment of Philpot and his associates seems to have been protracted in order to intimidate them; but the period of their incarceration was far otherwise employed than in devising methods how they might escape the impending fate: the study of the scriptures, prayer and meditation, were the channels by which new vigour was imparted to their faith, and constancy to their resolution.

The character of Philpot will ever be revered for his enlightened acquaintance with the scriptures, and his maintenance of those scriptures in the midst of a dark and frowning generation; for his deep personal conviction of the preciousness of the gospel revelation of grace; for his profound humility, and for the courage, tranquillity, and unshaken faith which he maintained through his severe ordeal and to the last extremity.

THE "Examinations" display nothing of doggedness, but the calm self-possession of an unwavering faith: and though the charge of insanity brought against him by his judges has been re-echoed by a jesuit writer[1] inferior to none of them in rancour against the promoters of the Reformation; yet it will be evident to every reader of them, that in answer to such an imputation he might have adopted the language of one who, like himself, had stood at a tribunal for his faith:

Acts xxvi. 25. "I am not mad, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness."

The "Letters" of Philpot are equally descriptive of the firmness of his purpose, whether for doing or suffering. They introduce us into the interior of his character: they shew a man immoveably rooted in the true faith, and intrepid in its defence; but meek withal, and while himself abounding in the consolations of the Holy Ghost, able and anxious to "comfort others with the comfort with which he himself was comforted of God."

Of the "Apology for spitting upon an Arian" it is no disparagement to say, that it is the least gratifying of the productions of Philpot. The act, which gave occasion to the "Defence," was of so coarse a nature, that, even after making every allowance for the difference of manners in that day, one could heartily have desired that his zeal against the heresy of Arianism had wanted such a manifestation. But having made this admission, we claim for the "Apology" that praise which is due to an honest indignation towards one of the most grievous errors which ever dishonoured the Saviour, or infected his church. If the language throughout this "Apology" is strong, it must be excused as the outburst of a righteous displeasure, not against the persons, but the tenets, of those whom he reproves.

The treatise on the "Baptism of Infants," though unpre-

[1] Robert Persons or Parsons, in his "Three Conversions of England."

tending in its form, will be found to contain in a very short compass the most solid arguments for that practice, scripturally sanctioned, and supported by the highest authorities. It contains, too, not a few statements of an unequivocal kind, as describing Philpot's views of that sacrament. They place him in a position equidistant from those who would make baptism a mere symbolical act, and from that other scheme, yet more subversive of the essential grace of the gospel, which describes that sacrament as the "exclusive" channel through which the Holy Spirit renews the soul. From each of these extremes Philpot was far removed. It may here be remarked that, though his writings contain no express dissertation upon the other sacrament, yet the tone of his opinions thereupon, contrasted as they so strongly are with the transubstantiation view, can hardly be mistaken. At all events, had he reckoned the benefits of the atonement to be conveyed by that sacrament as an "exclusive" instrument to that end, he could scarcely have failed to drop a hint to that effect, on some one of the many occasions on which he speaks with fervency of the precious truth of justification.

Little doubt can exist as to the author of the account of the "Disputation in the convocation-house," as it appears in the following work. It is not likely that two accounts of it would have been penned; and that Philpot was the author of one, the historian above referred to has expressly informed us: "There was a true report of the disputation of these men at the Convocation, which Philpot, one of the disputants, wrote, and had it printed; which he owned at one of his examinations before the bishop of London and others; and perhaps may be the same we have extant in Fox's Monuments." Strype, Mem. Cranm. p. 461.

It is a subject of much regret, that the treatise "De Vero Christiani Sacrificio" does not make a part of the present volume. But it is far from clear that this work was

ever completed by the author. The above Latin title is found in some lists of Philpot's works; but the authority for its insertion does not appear. In a note to p. 1574 of Herbert's Ames, is an allusion to the "Trewe sacryfyce of a Chrysten man," not as a work then in being, but which might, ere long, be given to the world. We cannot but lament that the sentiments of Philpot on such a subject have not come down to us: they would be in instructive contrast with that grand error of the sacrifice of the mass, against which he so valiantly contended even unto death.

The translation of Curio on the "olde and awncyent authoritie of Christes churche," is now first printed from a MS. in the British Museum. That it is Philpot's production, can scarcely be questioned. The dedication bears the name of John Philpot; and his previous travels in Italy may readily account for his mind being directed to, and interested in, the progress of the Reformation in that country. But the chief evidence of its genuineness is of an internal character; since it treats of that subject which was the hinge of the whole controversy of those times, as well as the main topic of dispute between himself and his opponents. His refusal to admit the authority of the church *in their sense* formed the platform of his resistance to the dogmas of transubstantiation and the mass. For these reasons, though it is not an original work of Philpot, its publication appeared very desirable.

The entire works of Philpot, as stated jointly by Watt in his "Bibliotheca Britannica," and by Chalmers in his "Biographical Dictionary," are as follows:

I. The Examinations; Lond. 1559, 4to., of which there is another edition, without date, to which is added,

II. An Apology of John Philpot, written for spitting upon an Arian, &c.

The "Examinations" were drawn up by Philpot in English, and afterwards translated into Latin by John Foxe, the martyrologist, when he was in exile. "These things," (says Strype, Mem. Cranm. p. 515,) "Foxe put into Latin (as he had an excellent Latin style), and printed with this title: 'Mira ac elegans cum primis Historia, vel Tragœdia potius, de tota ratione Examinationis et condemnationis J. Philpotti Archidiaconi Wincestriæ, nuper in Anglia exusti: Ab autore primum lingua sua congesta; nunc in Latinam versa, interprete J. F. A.'"

III. Supplication to King Philip and Queen Mary.

IV. Letters. Foxe.

V. Disputation in the Convocation-house: of which the Latin title is "Vera Expositio Disputationis institutæ mandato D. Mariæ Reginæ, Ang. etc. in Synodo ecclesiastico Londini in Comitiis Regni ad 18 Oct. anno 1553." Printed in Latin at Rome, 1554; and in English at Basil.

VI. Translation of Cœlius Secundus Curio's "Defence of the Old and Ancient Authority of Christ's Church."

VII. De Vero Christiani sacrificio.

VIII. Translation of Calvin's Homilies.

IX. Translation of Chrysostom against Heresies.

X. Epistolæ Hebraicæ.

XI. De Proprietate Linguarum.

The last five in this enumeration have not been found, and are probably not extant. The latter four, even had they been met with, would scarcely have been suited to the objects of the "Parker Society."

The manuscripts relating to Philpot, in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, were examined by the Editor: but the search did not end in the discovery of any additional papers.

The thanks of the members of the Parker Society are due, and are now in their name offered by the Editor, to the Rev. J. Allport, M. A., of Birmingham; the Rev. J. Mendham, of Sutton Coldfield; and to the Rev. T. P. Pantin, M. A., Rector of Westcote, Gloucestershire, for several important communications: nor less to the Rev. S. R. Maitland, M. A., Librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who gave to the Editor ready access to the Library at Lambeth Palace.

The Exami-

nation of the constante Martir of Christ, Iohn Philpot, Archdeacon of Win-chester, at sundry seasons, in the tyme of hys sore imprisonemente, conuented and baited, as in these particular tragedies folowynge, it maye (not only to the christen instruction, but also to the mery recreation of the indifferent reader) moste manifestly appeare.

Reade fyrst, and then iudge.

VVhen the vvaters arose, the floudde bet vpon this house, and could not moue it: for it vvas builded vpon a rock,

Luc. 6.

And the rocke vvas Christe.

2 Corinth. 10.

NOTICES

(BY THE EDITOR)

OF

THE BISHOPS AND OTHER CLERGY,

WITH THE

QUEEN'S COMMISSIONERS,

WHO EXAMINED

ARCHDEACON PHILPOT

IN 1555.

Bishop of London.

EDMUND BONER (or Bonner), who acted a memorable part in the eventful age wherein his life was cast, was a student of Broadgate Hall, now Pembroke College, Oxford. He was nominated to the see of Hereford toward the end of 1538; but before his consecration was transferred to London, which diocese was the grand arena of his activity. In 1549 he was deprived, and committed to the Marshalsea prison; but was restored to his see in the first year of Mary's reign. The rejection of the oath of supremacy on Elizabeth's accession to the throne was followed by the loss of his see. An ecclesiastical historian speaks of him as one "who had gone through several embassies; but lost himself by his persecuting temper and harsh management." (Collier's Eccl. Hist.) His brutal conduct is too notorious to need remark.

Archbishop of York.

NICHOLAS HEATH, descended from the Heaths of Aspley, near Tamworth, began his academical course at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, but removed thence to Clare Hall, Cambridge, took orders, and was afterwards archdeacon of Stafford. He was consecrated bishop of Rochester in 1539, being then almoner to Henry the Eighth, and was thence translated to Worcester, which see he held until the beginning of Edward's reign, when he was (1549-50) committed as a prisoner to the Fleet, as "being no friend to that king or reformation." When Mary came to the throne, he was restored to his bishopric, upon the deprivation of Hooper. Bishop Heath stood so high in this queen's favour, that he was made by her, not only lord president of Wales, but archbishop of York. On Elizabeth's accession, in Nov. 1558, (cardinal Pole, archbishop of Canterbury, being dead,) the duty of anointing and crowning Elizabeth devolved upon Heath; but refusing, in common with all the other bishops except one, and declining also, the next year, to acknowledge the new queen's supremacy over the church, he was deprived of the

archbishopric, and committed to custody for a time. During the remnant of his days he lived, a prisoner at large, at Cobham in Surrey; and there at length dying, was buried in the chancel of that church.

Bishop of Durham.

Cuthbert Tonstall (or Tunstal) was born in Yorkshire in 1476. He became a member of the University of Oxford in 1491; but left it, with many others, on account of the plague which broke out about that time, and proceeded to Cambridge. From that place, after no long stay, he proceeded to the University of Padua, in Italy. After his return, being LL.D. (of Padua, as is supposed) he was appointed, in succession, archdeacon of Chester, prebendary of York, and vicar general to Warham, archbishop of Canterbury. He was afterwards made master of the rolls, and keeper of the seals, and was employed abroad in matters of the highest moment. In 1521, he was made dean of Salisbury; and not long after bishop of London, to which he was consecrated in October, 1522. Tonstall was translated to the see of Durham, of which it was attempted to deprive him by a bill brought into parliament, which failed of its object: he was, however, subsequently deprived by a commission. On the accession of Mary he was set at liberty from the custody in which he had been placed, and restored to his see: but when Elizabeth came to the crown, he shared the lot of all those bishops (and their number included the whole bench except Kitchin, of Llandaff,) who rejected the oath of supremacy, by being deprived of his see, which sentence took effect about September, 1559-60. He has been described as "a prelate thoroughly accomplished in the polite part of learning."

Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

Ralph Baines, born in Yorkshire, was educated at St John's College, Cambridge. After taking the degree of D.D. he went to Paris, where for some time he was royal professor of Hebrew. He remained abroad during the latter part of Henry the Eighth's reign, and throughout that of Edward the Sixth: but when Mary obtained the crown, he returned into England, and was made bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, which dignity he retained until the first year of queen Elizabeth, when he was deprived and imprisoned for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. He died in 1559, the first year of his imprisonment, having published only one work: In Proverbia Salomonis, L. 3.

Bishop of Worcester.

Richard Pates, a native of Oxfordshire, was admitted scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1522. After taking his degree of B.A. he went to Paris, and became M.A. of that University. Returning to England, he became successively archdeacon of Winchester and Lincoln. He went abroad in several embassies: and is mentioned in 1534, as being resident in the emperor's court; and again in 1540, in which year a passport was made for him by secretary Cromwell to Calais, to reside with the emperor as ambassador from the king of England. He was made bishop of Worcester, probably upon the resignation of Latimer. At all events, he was "designed" to that office, at that time, by Henry the Eighth. In 1542, he was attainted of high treason and deprived of his spiritualities: he remained in banishment the whole of Edward the Sixth's reign, during which time he sat and

assisted at the council of Trent. Mary ascending the throne, bishop Pates was recalled home, and restored to his see of Worcester in 1554; but upon the next change of church affairs (the first of Elizabeth) refusing to take the oath of supremacy, he was deprived; and, going abroad, re-appeared at Trent at the closing of the council. He was living in 1562, but how long after is not certainly known. Of bishop Pates Antony à Wood says: "He was a learned man, of a peaceable disposition, zealous in the faith he professed, yet always against inflicting corporal punishments on such that were opposite in religion to him."

Bishop of Hereford.

Robert Warton, alias Parfew, alias Purfoy, was translated to the see of Hereford from St Asaph April 24, 1554; died Sept. 22, 1557; and was buried in his own cathedral.

Bishop of Chichester.

George Day was restored to the bishopric of Chichester in 1553, on the deprivation of John Scory: he died on the 2nd of August, 1556. He was originally confirmed in this see on the 5th of May, 1543; deprived of it, Oct. 10, 1551; and then succeeded by John Scory.

Bishop of Rochester.

Maurice Griffyth (or Griffyn) by birth a Welchman, and, in respect of ecclesiastical order, a Dominican or Black Friar, received his "academical education, for a time, among those of his profession in their house in the south suburb of Oxon," and was admitted Bachelor of Canon Law in February, 1533. He was appointed to the archdeaconry of Rochester; and subsequently, upon the translation of Scory to the see of Chichester, was made bishop of Rochester, to which he was consecrated "in St Saviour's church, Southwark, by Stephen, bishop of Winchester," in April, 1554. He ended his days either in November or December, 1559, and was buried in the church of St Magnus, London Bridge, which living he seems to have held, with his bishopric, until his death.

Bishop of St Asaph.

Thomas Goldwell, of a Kentish family, took the degrees of M.A. and B.D. successively in the years 1531 and 1533, being a member of All Souls College, Oxford, where he was distinguished by his attainments in astronomy and other mathematical sciences. He was a zealous Romanist, and "was attainted with cardinal Pole in 1538, and lived with him beyond sea in the times of Henry the Eighth and Edward the Sixth, and was employed by the cardinal to carry his letters to queen Mary, by whom he was promoted to the bishopric of St Asaph, in 1555." Soon after, he induced the pope to renew the indulgences granted to those who went on pilgrimages to St Winifred's well at Holywell, in Flintshire. Refusing to make the required compliance on the accession of Elizabeth, he was deprived, and "conveying himself away beyond the seas," presented himself at the council of Trent under Pope Pius in 1562. The remainder of his life was for the most part passed at Rome; where "he lived very pontificially among the Theatines," and was appointed by the pope to baptize Jews there, and to confer orders on Englishmen who should fly thither for religion's sake. In 1580, it was proposed that bishop Goldwell should go over to England to perform episcopal offices for the English Romanists, their

only bishop being Dr Thomas Watson, who was at that time confined in Wisbeach castle. For this purpose he proceeded as far as Rheims; but his strength failing him, he returned to Rome, and died soon after, being more than eighty years old. He was esteemed among the Englishmen at Rome "a most useful person; and was had in great veneration for his learning," having (as Wood was informed) written one or more books.

At Ravenna, in Italy, is a convent of Theatines; where, among the pictures of several famous men of their order, there is one, the inscription of which speaks of Goldwell as "Fidei confessor conspicuus."

Bishop of Gloucester.

James Brooks (or Brokes), a native of Hampshire, was elected fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1531. He took the degree of D.D. in 1546, and the following year was elected master of Balliol College; was "chaplain or almoner to bishop Gardiner," and at length by queen Mary appointed bishop of Gloucester, upon the deprivation of John Hooper. In 1555, he was delegated by the pope to examine and try Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley. "He was a person very learned in the time he lived, an eloquent preacher, and a zealous maintainer of the Roman Catholic religion, as well in his sermons as writings, some of which are published, as

1. Sermon at St Paul's Cross in the first year of queen Mary on Matt. ix. 18.

2. Oration in St Mary's Church in Oxon. 12th March, 1555, to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.

3. Oration in closing up the examination of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury[1]."

Upon Elizabeth's accession, being summoned to take the oath of supremacy, he refused, was deprived, and committed to prison, and died in 1559-60. He was buried in Gloucester cathedral, but no monument appears.

Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Gilbert Bourn, son of Philip Bourn of Worcestershire, and brother to Sir John Bourn, principal secretary of state, was a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, in 1531. Ten years afterwards, he was made one of the first prebendaries of Worcester upon the erection of that church into a cathedral body. In 1549, he supported the Reformation, and was successively archdeacon of Bedford, Essex, and Middlesex, also canon of St Paul's. In the beginning of queen Mary's reign, he became so zealous for the Romish cause, that preaching at Paul's Cross in behalf of Bonner, then present, a dagger was thrown at him by one of the hearers. Soon after, in the year 1554, he was made bishop of Bath and Wells, in the place of William Barlow; and at no distant period, was appointed lord president of Wales. He remained in great favour during the reign of Mary; but when Elizabeth succeeded, he was deprived of his bishopric for denying her supremacy. He was a prisoner at large under the inspection of Dr Cary, the dean of Exeter, devoting himself to reading and contemplation. He died at Silverton

[1] Ant. a Wood, Athen. Ox.

in Devonshire, Sept. 10, 1569, and was buried in the chancel of the parish church.

Bishop of St David's.

HENRY MORGAN, a native of Wales, entered at Oxford about 1515, where becoming distinguished by his knowledge in the civil and canon laws, he was appointed principal of St Edmund's Hall, at that time a noted house for civilians. On the deprivation of Robert Ferrar, he became his successor in the bishopric of St David's; but was himself deprived in 1559, for refusing to make the required compliances. The remainder of his days he passed among his relations at Godstow, near Oxford, where he died in December, 1559.

Bishop of Bangor.

WILLIAM GLYNN was a fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, in which university he took the degree of D.D. Upon the death of Arthur Bulkeley, LL.D., bishop of Bangor, in 1552, he was nominated his successor, and was consecrated in 1555, the bishopric remaining vacant for more than two years. He died in 1558.

Dean of St Paul's.

HENRY COLE was born at Godshill, in the Isle of Wight, and educated in Wykeham's School near Winchester. He was admitted true and perpetual Fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1523; and having there read civil law, he travelled some years after into Italy, and tarried some time at Padua, prosecuting his studies. Returning to England, and having settled in London, he proceeded to the degree of Doctor in Civil Law in 1540; and the same year resigned his fellowship, being then an advocate in the Court of Arches. He was afterwards made prebendary of Salisbury, and about the same time archdeacon of Ely, in the room of Richard Coxe. In 1542 he was elected to the wardenship of New College; and, two years afterwards, was made rector of Newton Longville, in Bucks. Soon after, when Edward the Sixth came to the crown, he was a supporter of the reformation, an admirer of Peter Martyr, "a frequenter of protestant service, and a receiver of the holy communion according to their way": he upheld the reformation principles in a sermon at St Martyn's (Carfax), Oxford; and was in other respects an approver of the proceedings of Edward VI. In 1551 he resigned his wardenship, and the year after, his rectory: in 1554 he was made provost of Eton College, of which he had been fellow, and the same year had the degree of D.D. conferred upon him. It was not long after that he was appointed one of the commissioners to visit the university of Cambridge; and became dean of St Paul's on the removal of Dr Feckenham to Westminster; being nominated vicar-general of the spiritualities under Cardinal Pole in 1556, and in 1558 one of the overseers of the said cardinal's will. When Elizabeth came to the throne, Dr Cole, with John Whyte, bishop of Winchester, and five other zealous Romanist divines, "did dispute with as many protestant divines concerning matters of religion; but that dispute (where this Dr Cole

was spokesman), coming to nothing," he was deprived of his deanery, to make way for Dr W. May, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. "About that time," says Antony Wood, "Dr Cole was imprisoned; but where, I cannot tell; but he died in or near the Compter, in Wood-street, London, in December, 1579." Leland, in his "Encomia," gives a high character of Cole's learning.

Archdeacon of London.

JOHN HARPSFIELD was born in the parish of St Mary Magdalene, Old Fish-street, London, and educated at Winchester school. Being elected thence to New College, Oxford, he became a fellow of that society in 1534; but quitted his fellowship in 1551, being then beneficed in London. He was made archdeacon of London in 1554; in which capacity he aided Bonner in his various plans and proceedings, being a man of a kindred spirit with the bishop, who had probably been first attracted to him by discovering such a similarity of views. In 1558, Harpsfield was appointed dean of Norwich, but was forced to leave it to make room for John Salisbury, suffragan bishop of Thetford. After Elizabeth had come to the throne, he was committed to the Fleet for not acknowledging her ecclesiastical supremacy; but was released upon condition that he should not act, speak, or write against the doctrine of the Church of England. Hereupon retiring to the house of a relative dwelling in St Sepulchre's parish, he passed the remainder of his days in retiredness and devotion. He died in 1578, and was (probably) buried in the church of St Sepulchre.

Dean of Peterborough.

JAMES CURTHOPP (or Curthorp) was educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford; and took the degree of M.A. in 1546. He afterwards became canon of Christ Church; and, in the beginning of Mary's reign, dean of Peterborough. He died July 19, 1557.

Dean of Norwich.

JOHN CHRISTOPHERSON, a native of Lancashire, was educated at St John's College, Cambridge, where he took the degree of D.D., and became master of Trinity College. During Edward's reign he lived abroad; but returning on Mary's accession, was raised to the deanery of Norwich in 1554, and placed in the see of Chichester in 1557. In the first year of Elizabeth he was deprived, and died soon after, and was buried in Christ Church, London. He wrote translations of Philo's works, of the Greek ecclesiastical historians, and of the fathers.

HENRY PENDLETON was born in Lancashire, and entered at Brasen Nose College, Oxford, about 1538. He took the degree of D.D. in Edward the Sixth's reign, being then probably well disposed towards the Reformation. However, in Mary's reign he proved by his sermons, and the part he took in the contests with the friends of the Reformation, that his preferences were on the Romish side. In the first year of Elizabeth he was deprived of his preferments and committed to prison. The time of his death is not known.

Civil Commissioners.

JOHN STORY was a student of civil law at Oxford. In 1531 he took the degree of B.C.L.; and in 1535 was appointed professor of a new lecture in law, founded by Henry the Eighth: he was made principal of Broadgate Hall (now Pembroke College) in 1537; and the following year took the degree of D.C.L. He was a zealous adherent to the Romish communion, and withdrew into Flanders in the reign of Edward the Sixth; but returned to England on Mary's accession, the patent of his professorship at Oxford being restored to him. Being employed in matters relating to canon law in the courts held in London, and being made chancellor of Oxford, he became very active in prosecuting the protestants in the reign of Mary. After Elizabeth had come to the throne, Story, who was then a member of the House of Commons, spoke so warmly against the religious changes then being introduced, that he was committed to custody; out of which, however, he escaped to Flanders, and obtained an advantageous post in the Custom House of Antwerp. This place he subsequently quitted for England about the beginning of 1570; and on his return was imprisoned in the Tower, from which he might have escaped, if he had consented to take the oath of supremacy: this, however, he persisted in refusing to do, being animated to such resoluteness by Feckenham, who was a prisoner at the same time. He was executed at Tyburn, June 1, 1571, dying an unshaken assertor of Romanist principles.

WILLIAM ROPER, son of John Roper of Eltham in Kent, (who was some time attorney general to Henry the Eighth), was clerk of the King's Bench, and married the daughter of Sir Thomas More. He died Jan. 4, 1577, having been the author of "The Life of Sir Thomas More," MS. published 1712.

THE EXAMINATIONS

OF

JOHN PHILPOT.

THE

PROCESS AND HISTORY

OF

MASTER JOHN PHILPOT,

EXAMINED, CONDEMNED, AND MARTYRED FOR THE MAINTENANCE AND DEFENCE OF THE GOSPEL'S CAUSE AGAINST THE ANTI-CHRISTIAN SEE OF ROME.[1]

NEXT followeth the constant martyrdom of master John Philpot, of whom partly ye heard before in the beginning of queen Mary's time, in prosecuting the disputation of the convocation-house. He was of a worshipful house, a knight's son, born in Hampshire, brought up in the New College in Oxford, where he studied the civil law the space of six or seven years, besides the study of other liberal arts, especially of the tongues, wherein very forwardly he profited, namely, in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, &c. In wit he was pregnant and happy, of a singular courage, in spirit fervent, in religion zealous, and also well practised and exercised in the same (which is no small matter in a true divine), of nature and condition plain and apert, far from all flattery, further from all hypocrisy and deceitful dissimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations penned of his own hand can declare.

Philpot, a knight's son, and a student of law in New College, Oxford.

From Oxford, desirous to see other countries as occasion served thereunto, he went over into Italy and places thereabouts; where he, coming upon a time from Venice to

Philpot goeth over to Italy.

[1 The text of the "Examinations" (including the title and introduction) is taken from the edition of Foxe's Acts, published in 1597; any differences between that text and the original edition printed 1556, without the printer's name, entitled "The Examination of the constant martyr of Christ, John Philpot," (see Herbert's Typographical Antiquities, Vol. III. p. 1588.) being marked in the notes.]

Padua, was in danger through a certain Franciscan friar accompanying him in his journey, who, coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England his country again, as the time ministered more boldness to him in the days of king Edward, he had divers conflicts with Gardiner the bishop in the city of Winchester, as appeareth by divers of Winchester's letters, and his examinations; whereof read before.

The return of Philpot into England.

After that, having an advowson by the said bishop, he was made there archdeacon of Winchester, under Dr Poinet, who then succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric. Thus, during the time of king Edward, he continued to no small profit of those parts thereabout. When that blessed king was taken away, and Mary his sister came in place, whose study was wholly bent to alter the state of religion in the woful realm of England, first she caused a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be congregated to the accomplishment of her desire.

Philpot archdeacon of Winchester.

In the which convocation master Philpot being present according to his room and degree, with a few others, sustained the cause of the gospel manfully against the adversary part (as is above recited); for the which cause, notwithstanding the liberty of the house promised before, he was called to account before bishop Gardiner the chancellor, then being his ordinary, by whom he was first examined, although that examination came not yet to our hands. From thence again he was removed to Bonner and other commissioners, with whom he had divers and sundry conflicts, as in his examinations here following may appear.

Philpot sent from Gardiner to Bonner.

THE FIRST EXAMINATION.

The first examination of Master John Philpot before the queen's commissioners, Master Cholmley, Master Roper, and Dr Story, and one of the scribes of the Arches, at Newgate Sessions' Hall, October the 2nd, 1555.

Dr Story, before I was called into an inner parlour where they sat, came out into the hall where I was, to view me among others that there were, and passing by me said, "Ha! Master

Story's words to Philpot.

Philpot;" and, in returning immediately again, stayed against me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fed indeed.

Philpot:—"If I be fat and in good liking, master doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in prison this twelve months and a half, in a close corner. I am come to know your pleasure, wherefore you have sent for me."

Story:—"We hear that thou art a suspect person, and of heretical opinions; and therefore we have sent for thee."

Philpot:—"I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of the disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspect[1] of the setting forth the report thereof." Cause of Philpot's imprisonment.

Story:—"If thou wilt revoke the same, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do right well: or else thou shalt be committed to the bishop of London. How sayest thou? wilt thou revoke it or no?"

Philpot:—"I have already answered in this behalf to mine ordinary."

Story:—"If thou answerest thus, when thou comest before us anon, thou shalt hear more of our minds:" and with that he went into the parlour, and I within a little while after was called in.

The Scribe:—"Sir, what is your name?"

Philpot:—"My name is John Philpot." And so he intituled my name.

Story:—"This man was archdeacon of Winchester, of Dr Poinet's presentment."

Philpot:—"I was archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment, but by the virtue of a former advowson, given by my lord chancellor that now is."

Story:—"Ye may be sure that my lord chancellor would not make any such as he is archdeacon."

Roper:—"Come hither to me, master Philpot. We hear say that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of the which whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation. Wherefore, if you will come into the same, you shall be received, and find favour."

Philpot:—"I am come before your worshipful masterships at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorized by the queen's majesty, to whom I owe, and will Philpot lying in prison a year and a half before he was called to his answer.

[1] Suspect: suspicion.]

do, my due obedience to the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, wherefore I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire your masterships that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful imprisonment, where I have lien this twelvemonth and this half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without all law."

No particular matter but suspicion.

Roper:—"Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may, both by our commission and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you: and, besides this, we have statutes to charge you herein withal."

Philpot:—"If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal; and if I have incurred the penalty thereof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the queen's majesty's laws, by force whereof you do now sit, I desire that, if I be found no notorious transgressor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done."

Cholmley:—"If the justice do suspect a felon, he may examine him upon suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison though there be no fault done."

Story:—"I perceive whereabout this man goeth. He is plain in Cardmaker's case, for he made the selfsame allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art a heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass. How sayest thou to that?"

Philpot:—"I am no heretic."

Story:—"I will prove thee a heretic. Whosoever hath holden against the blessed mass is a heretic: but thou hast holden against the same; therefore thou art a heretic."

Philpot:—"That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where, by the queen's majesty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to say his mind freely of such questions in religion, as there were propounded by the prolocutor; for the which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now be compelled of you to answer to the same."

Story:—"Thou shalt go to the Lollards' Tower, and be handled there like a heretic, as thou art; and answer to the same that thou there didst speak; and be judged by the bishop of London."

Philpot:—"I have already been convented of this matter before my lord chancellor, mine ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in prison. Therefore, if his lordship will take my life away, as he hath done my liberty and living, he may; the which I think he cannot do of his conscience, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in prison: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein that is mine ordinary, and do refuse the auditory of the bishop of London, because he is an incompetent judge for me, and not mine ordinary." Philpot appealeth to his ordinary.

Story:—"But, sir, thou spakest the words in the convocation-house, which is of the bishop of London's diocese; and therefore thou shalt be carried to the Lollards' Tower to be judged by him for the words thou spakest in his diocese against the blessed mass."

Philpot:—"Sir, you know by the law, that I may have 'Exceptionem fori[1]:' and it is against all equity that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the law have nothing to do with me."

Roper:—"You cannot deny but that you spake against the mass in the convocation-house."

Story:—"Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there, or no?"

Philpot:—"I cannot deny that I have spoken there; and if by the law you may put me to death therefore, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto."

The Scribe:—"This man is fed of vain glory."

Cholmley:—"Play the wise gentleman, and be conformable; and be not stubborn in your opinions, neither cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good."

Philpot:—"I desire you, sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands than the law chargeth me, for that I have done, since there was then no law directly against that wherewith I am now charged. And you, Philpot charged further than the law would bear.

[1 'Exceptio fori' was the defendant's 'Exception against the court,' the entry of his protest against some part of the charge, or the mode of proceeding against him.]

master doctor (of old acquaintance in Oxford), I trust will shew me some friendship, and not extremity."

Story:—"I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good catholic man, I would be thy friend, and spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to a heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?"

Philpot:—"Sir, I am not come now to dispute with your mastership, and the time now serveth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal."

Story:—"Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into the Lollards' Tower."

Philpot requireth to see their commission.

Philpot:—"Sir, since you will needs shew me this extremity, and charge me with my conscience, I do desire to see your commission, whether you have this authority so to do; and after the view thereof I shall (according to my duty) make you further answer, if you may, by the virtue thereof, burden me with my conscience."

Roper:—"Let him see the commission: is it here?"

Story:—"Shall we let every vile person see our commission?"

Cholmley:—"Let him go from whence he came, and on Thursday he shall see our commission."

Story:—"No, let him lie in the meanwhile in the Lollards' Tower; for I will sweep the king's bench, and all other prisons also, of these heretics: they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their heresies."

Philpot:—"You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no power over my soul. And I pass not[1] whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse entreated than I am, kept all day in a close chamber: wherefore it is no marvel that my flesh is puffed up, wherewithal master doctor is offended."

Story:—"Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday; and then we shall rid your fingers of him, and afterward of your other heretics."

Philpot:—"God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in which he will judge us with righteousness, howsoever you judge of us now."

[1] Pass not: care not.]

Roper:—"Be content to be ruled by master doctor, and shew yourself a catholic man."

Philpot:—"Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my conscience is, I should but dissemble with you: and why be you so earnest to have me shew myself a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?" Philpot will not dissemble against his conscience.

Roper:—"We do not require you to dissemble with us, but to be a catholic man."

Philpot:—"If I do stand in any thing against that, wherein any man is able to burden me with one jot of the scripture, I shall be content to be counted no catholic man, or a heretic, as you please."

Story:—"Have we scripture, scripture?"—and with that he rose up, saying, "Who shall be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, which the other day would have nothing else but scripture."

And this is the beginning of this tragedy.

THE SECOND EXAMINATION. The second examination of Master Philpot before the queen's commissioners, Master Cholmley, Roper, Dr Story, Dr Cook, and the scribe, the 24th of October, 1555, at Newgate Sessions' Hall.

At my coming, a man of Aldgate of mine acquaintance said unto me, "God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for Dr Story said, that my lord chancellor had commanded to do you away." After a little consultation had between them, master Cholmley called me unto him, saying:

Cholmley:—"Master Philpot, shew yourself a wise man; and be not stubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the queen's proceedings, and live; and you shall be well assured of great favour and reputation."

Philpot:—"I shall do as it becometh a christian man to do."

Story:—"This man is the rankest heretic that hath been in all my lord chancellor's diocese, and hath done more hurt than any man else there: and therefore his pleasure is that he should have the law to proceed against him; and I have

spoken with my lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the bishop of London, and there to recant, or else burn. He howled and wept in the convocation-house, and made such ado as never man did, as all the heretics do when they lack learning to answer. He shall go after his fellows. How sayest thou? wilt thou recant?"

Philpot:—"I know nothing I have done, that I ought to recant."

Story:—"Well then, I pray you, let us commit him to the Lollards' Tower, there to remain until he be further examined before the bishop of London; for he is too fine fed in the king's bench, and he hath too much favour there: for his keeper said at the door yesterday, that he was the finest fellow, and one of the best learned in England." And with this he rose up and went his way.

Cook:—"This man hath most stoutly maintained heresies since the queen's coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is most meet he should be adjudged by the bishop of London, for the heresies he hath maintained."

Philpot:—"I have maintained no heresies."

Cook:—"No! have you not? Did you not openly speak against the sacrament of the altar in the convocation-house? Call you that no heresy? wilt thou recant that, or not?"

Philpot:—"It was the queen's majesty's pleasure, that we should reason thereof, not by my seeking, but by other men's procuring, in the hearing of the council."

Cook:—"Did the queen give you leave to be a heretic? you may be sure her grace will not so do. Well, we will not dispute the matter with you: my lord of London shall proceed by inquisition upon thee; and if thou wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned."

Philpot:—"My lord of London is not mine ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered unto mine ordinary in this matter; and therefore (as I have said before) you shall do me great wrong, to vex me twice for one matter, since I have sustained this long imprisonment, besides the loss of my living."

Roper:—"You were a very unmeet man to be an archdeacon."

Philpot:—"I know I was as meet a man as he that hath it now."

Cook:—"A meet man, quoth he! he troubled master Roper and the whole country."

Philpot:—"There was never poor archdeacon so handled at your hands as I am, and that without any just cause ye be able to lay unto me."

Cook:—"Thou art no archdeacon."

Philpot:—"I am archdeacon still, although another be in possession of my living; for I was never deprived by any law." Philpot deprived of his archdeaconry without any law.

Cook:—"No, sir; that needeth not: for a notorious heretic should have no ordinary proceeding about his deprivation; but the bishop may, upon knowledge thereof, proceed to deprivation."

Philpot:—"Master doctor, you know that the common law is otherwise; and besides this, the statutes of this realm be otherwise, which give this benefit to every person, though he be a heretic, to enjoy his living until he be put to death for the same."

Cholmley:—"No, there thou art deceived."

Philpot:—"Upon the living I pass not; but the unjust dealing grieveth me, that I should be thus troubled for my conscience, contrary to all law."

Cholmley:—"Why, will not you agree that the queen's majesty may cause you to be examined of your faith?"

Philpot:—"Ask you of master doctor Cook, and he will tell you that the temporal magistrates have nothing to do with matters of faith, for determination thereof. And St Ambrose saith, that the things of God are not subject to the power and authority of princes[1]."

Cook:—"No! may not the temporal power commit you to be examined of your faith to the bishop!"

Philpot:—"Yea, sir, I deny not that. But you will not grant, that the same may examine any of their own authority."

Cook:—"Let him be had away."

Philpot:—"Your mastership promised me the last time

[1 Convenior ipse a comitibus et tribunis, ut basilicæ fieret matura traditio, dicentibus imperatorem jure suo uti; eo quod in potestate ejus essent omnia. Respondi, si a me peteret quod meum esset, id est fundum meum, argentum meum, quidvis hujusmodi meum, me non refragaturum, quanquam omnia quæ mei sunt, essent pauperum: verum eâ quæ sunt divina, imperatoriæ potestati non esse subjecta. Ambros. Op. Par. 1690. Tom. II. col. 854, § 8.]

I was before you, I should see your commission, by what authority you do call me, and whether I by the same be bound to answer to so much as you demand."

Roper:—"Let him see the commission."

Then the scribe exhibited it to master Roper, and was about to open the same.

Cook:—"No, what will ye do? he shall not see it."

Philpot:—"Then do you me wrong, to call me and vex me, not shewing your authority in this behalf."

Cook:—"If we do you wrong, complain on us; and in the mean while thou shalt lie in the Lollards' Tower."

Philpot:—"Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I trust of your gentleness you will not commit me to so vile and strait a place, being found no heinous trespasser."

Cook:—"Thou art no gentleman."

Philpot:—"Yes, that I am."

Cook:—"A heretic is no gentleman: for he is a gentleman, that hath gentle conditions."

Philpot:—"The offence cannot take away the state of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor: but I mean not to boast of my gentlemanship, but will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it."

Story:—"What! will you suffer this heretic to prate with you all this day?"

Cook:—"He saith, he is a gentleman."

Story:—"A gentleman, quoth he? he is a vile heretic knave: for a heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards' Tower come in, and have him away."

The Keeper:—"Here, sir."

Commanded to Lollards' tower by Dr Story.

Story:—"Take this man with you to the Lollards' Tower, or else to the bishop's coal-house."

Philpot:—"Sir, if I were a dog, you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart! you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you, master Cholmley, shew me some friendship, that I be not carried to so vile a place."

Cholmley talketh with Philpot apart.

And Cholmley called me aside, and said, "I am not skilful of their doings, neither of their laws: I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good."

Philpot:—"I am content to go whither you will have me. There was never man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that, without any just cause known, should thus be entreated."

Story:—"Shall we suffer this heretic thus to reprove us? Have him hence."

Philpot:—"God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and shew you more mercy in time of need: 'Do quickly that you have in hand'."

Story:—"Do you not hear how he maketh us Judases?"

Philpot:—"That is after your own understanding."

After this I, with four other more, were brought to the keeper's house in Paternoster-row, where we supped; and after supper I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London's servant, and that in his master's name, who offered me a bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, saying, that it should be a grief to me to lie well one night, and the next worse: "wherefore I will begin," said I, "as I am like to continue, to take such part as my fellows do." And with that we were brought through Paternoster-row to my lord of London's coal-house; unto the which is joined a little blind house, with a great pair of stocks, appointed both for hand and foot. But, thanks be to God! we have not played on those organs yet, although some before us have tried them. And there we found a minister of Essex,[1] a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. And this minister, at my coming, desired to speak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment he was constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London: whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterward felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he had gone unto the bishop's registrar, desiring to see his bill again, the which as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces; and after, he was as joyful as any man might be. Of the which when my lord of London had understanding, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and like a manly bishop buffeted him well, so that he made his face

Philpot laid in Bonner's coal-house.

Examples what an unquiet conscience doeth.

Bonner plucketh away a great part of Whittle's beard, &c.

[1 This man's name was Thomas Whittle: he was burnt in 1556.]

black and blue, and plucked away a great piece of his beard: but now, thanks be to God! he is as joyful under the cross as any of us, and very sorry of his former infirmity. I write this, because I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their conscience; which is, to fall into the pains of hell. And here an end.

The manner of my calling first before the Bishop of London, the second night of mine imprisonment in his coal-house.

Bonner's charity sent to Philpot.

THIRD EXAMINATION. The bishop sent unto me master Johnson, his registrar, with a mess of meat, and a good pot of drink, and bread, saying, that my lord had no knowledge erst[1] of my being here, for the which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, knowing whether I would receive the same.

I thanked God for my lord's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, desiring Almighty God to increase the same in him and in all others; and therefore I would not refuse his beneficence. And therewith took the same unto my brethren, praising God for his providence towards his afflicted flock, that he stirred our adversaries up to help the same in their necessity.

Johnson: — "My lord would know the cause of your sending hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof); and wondereth that he should be troubled with prisoners of other diocese than his own."

I declared unto him the whole cause. After the which he said, my lord's will was, that I should have any friendship I would desire; and so departed.

Bonner entertaining Philpot.

Within a while after, one of my lord's gentlemen cometh for me. And I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table alone, with three or four of his chaplains, waiting upon him, and his registrar.

Bonner:—"Master Philpot, you are welcome: give me your hand."

[1 Erst: before.]

With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I, to render courtesy for courtesy, kissed my hand, and gave him the same.

Bonner:—"I am right sorry for your trouble, and I promise you, before it was within these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you, tell me what was the cause of your sending hither; for I promise you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you should think that I was the cause thereof. And I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters: but I must be obedient to my betters; and I wist[2] men speak otherwise of me than I deserve."

Bonner made the common inquisitor against his will.

I shewed him the sum of the matter: that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house, for the which I was, against all right, molested.

Bonner:—"I marvel that you should be troubled therefor, if there was none other cause but this. But, peradventure, you have maintained the same since, and some of your friends of late have asked whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, 'Yea;' and for this you might be committed to prison."

Philpot:—"And[3] it shall please your lordship, I am burdened none otherwise than I have told you, by the commissioners, who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same."

Bonner:—"A man may speak in the parliament-house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it; as in case he speak words of high-treason against the king or queen. And so it might be that you spake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ."

Philpot:—"I spake nothing which was out of the articles, which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole house, and by the queen's permission and the council."

Bonner:—"Why, may we dispute of our faith?"

Philpot:—"Yea, that we may."

Bonner:—"Nay, I trow not, by the law."

Philpot:—"Indeed, by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's law we may reason thereof. For St Peter saith, 'Be ye ready to render account unto all men of that hope which is in you, that demand of you the same'." [1 Pet. iii. 15.]

[2 Wist: suppose.] [3 And: if.]

Bonner:—"Indeed, St Peter saith so. Why then, I ask of you, what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar?"

No man is bound to render account of his faith privately, unless it be to edify.

Philpot:—"My lord, St Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people[1], and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot shew you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes, in danger of my life therefor. Wherefore, as the said doctor said unto Valentinian the emperor, so I say to your lordship: 'Take away the law, and I shall reason with you[2].' And yet, if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you."

Bonner:—"I perceive you are learned: I would have such as you be about me. But you must come and be of the church; for there is but one church."

Philpot:—"God forbid I should be out of the church! I am sure I am within the same; for I know, as I am taught by the scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation, out of the which there is no salvation."

One church. [Song of Solomon, v. 1, vi. 9.]

Bonner:—"How chanceth it then, that you go out of the same, and walk not with us?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church, whereupon she is builded, which is the word of God."

Bonner:—"What age are you of?"

Philpot:—"I am four and forty."

The faith promised by his godfathers was the faith of Christ, after his creed only.

Bonner:—"You are not now of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers promised for you, in the which you were baptized."

Philpot:—"Yes, I thank God, I am: for I was baptized into the faith of Christ which I now hold."

Bonner:—"How can that be? there is but one faith."

[Eph. iv. 5, 6.]

Philpot:—"I am assured of that by St Paul, saying, that

[1 Venissem, Imperator, ad consistorium clementiæ tuæ, ut hæc coram suggererem, si me vel episcopi vel populus permisissent, dicentes de fide in ecclesiâ coram populo debere tractari. Ambros. Op. Par. 1690. Epist. xxi. Tom. ii. col. 863.]

[2 Tolle igitur legem, si vis esse certamen. Ambros. Op. Par. 1690. Epist. xxi. Tom. ii. col. 863.]

there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism, of the which I am."

Bonner:—"You were twenty years ago of another faith than you be now."

Philpot:—"Indeed, my lord, to tell you plain, I was then of no faith, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold."

Bonner:—"Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?"

Philpot:—"I desire your lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that God's word thoroughly, with the primitive church, and all the ancient writers, do agree with this faith I am of."

Bonner:—"Well, I promise you I mean you no more hurt, than to mine own person: I will not therefore burden you with your conscience as now. I marvel that you are so merry in prison as you be, singing and rejoicing, as the prophet saith, 'rejoicing in your naughtiness.' Methinketh you do not well herein: you should rather lament and be sorry." Bishop Bonner offended with John Philpot's singing in prison.

Philpot:—"My lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St Paul, willing us to be 'merry in the Lord, singing together in hymns and psalms;' and I trust your lordship cannot be displeased with that." [Eph. v. 19.]

Bonner:—"We may say unto you, as Christ said in the gospel, *Tibiis cecinimus vobis, et non planxistis.*"

Here my lord stumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the text better; but they were mum: and I recited out the text unto him, which made nothing to his purpose, unless he would have us to mourn, because they, if they laugh, sing still sorrowful things unto us, threatening fagots and fire.

Philpot:—"We are, my lord, in a dark comfortless place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, 'sorrowfulness eat up our heart'. Therefore I trust your lordship will not be angry for our singing of psalms, since St Paul saith, 'If any man be of an upright mind, let him sing.' And we therefore, to testify that we are of an upright mind to God, though we be in misery, do sing." [Prov. xv. 13.] [Qu. James v. 13?]

Bonner:—"I will trouble you no further as now. If I can do you any good, I will be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good master Philpot, and give you good night. Have him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine."

The end of his first talk with Bonner.

Thus I departed, and by my lord's registrar I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my lord's chaplain, master Cosyn, followed me, taking acquaintance, saying that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular.

Philpot:—"I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, saying, 'Woe be to him that is alone'."

[Eccles. iv. 10.]

After that I was carried to my lord's coal-house again, where I with my six fellows do rouse together in the straw, as cheerfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of down.

Thus for the third fit[1].

THE FOURTH EXAMINATION.

The fourth examination of Master Philpot in the archdeacon's house of London, the said month of October before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.

Bonner:—"Master Philpot, it hath pleased my lords to take pains here to-day, to dine with my poor archdeacon; and in the dinner time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here of many that knew you in the New College in Oxford. And I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me, by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned. And therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that it might not be said hereafter, that I had so many learned bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talk with you; and at my request (I thank them) they are content so to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely; and you shall with all favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as you may if you list."

Bath:—"My lords here have not sent for you to fawn

[1 *Fit* is used in the old romances for *canto* or *part*.]

upon you, but for charity's sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic way of the church."

Worcester:—"Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth."

With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner:—

The prayer of Philpot before the bishops.

"Almighty God, which art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most vile sinner in thy sight!) the Spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing."

Bonner against prayer.

Bonner:—"Nay, my lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer: for this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing *antelucanos hymnos*, 'praise unto God before dawning of the day[2].'"

Philpot:—"My lord, God make me and all you here present such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns; for they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well doing."

Bath:—"Proceed to that he hath to say. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what."

Bonner:—"Say on, master Philpot; my lords will gladly hear you."

Philpot complaineth of his wrongful imprisonment.

Philpot:—"I have, my lords, been this twelvemonth and a half in prison without any just cause that I know, and

[2] This strangely perverse or ignorant language, by which Bonner makes the early Christians 'arrant heretics,' refers to the well known letter of Pliny to Trajan, where he writes: Adfirmabant autem, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem. C. Plinii Cæcilii Secundi, Lib. x. Epist. xcvii. Lugd. Batav. 1669.

Jerome, in Chronic. Eusebii, calls these assemblies 'antelucanos conventus'; and Eusebius uses the Greek word signifying 'early in the morning,' (ἑωθεν.)]

my living taken from me without any lawful order; and now I am brought, contrary to right, from mine own territory and ordinary into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble."

Bonner:—"There is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For, I promise you, ye were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore speak your conscience without any fear."

Philpot called in no sufficient assembly, and therefore not bound to answer whereby to put himself in danger.

Philpot:—"My lord, I have learned to answer in matters of religion, *in ecclesiâ legitime vocatus*, 'in the congregation being thereto lawfully called:' but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a just congregation, where I ought to answer."

Bonner:—"Indeed this man told me, the last time I spake with him, that he was a lawyer, and would not utter his conscience in matters of faith, unless it were in the hearing of the people; where he might speak to vain glory."

Philpot:—"My lord, I said not I was a lawyer, neither do I arrogate to myself that name, although I was once a novice in the same, where I learned something for mine own defence, when I am called in judgment to answer to any cause, and whereby I have been taught not to put myself further in danger than I need; and so far am I a lawyer, and no further."

Bath:—"If you will not answer to my lord's request, you seem to be a wilful man in your opinion."

Philpot:—"My lord of London is not mine ordinary, before whom I am bound to answer in this behalf, as master doctor Cole (which is a lawyer) can well tell you by the law. And I have not offended my lord of London, wherefore he should call me."

Bonner:—"Yes, I have to lay to your charge that you have offended in my diocese, by speaking against the blessed sacrament of the altar; and therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law."

Philpot:—"I have not offended in your diocese: for that which I spake of the sacrament was in Paul's church in the

convocation-house, which (as I understand) is a peculiar jurisdiction belonging to the dean of Paul's, and therefore is counted of your lordship's diocese, but not in your diocese."

Bonner:—"Is not Paul's church in my diocese? Well I wot, it costeth me a good deal of money by the year, the leading thereof."

Philpot:—"That may be, and yet be exempted from your lordship's jurisdiction. And albeit I had so offended in the place of your diocese, yet I ought by the law to be sent to my ordinary, if I require it, and not to be punished by you that are not mine ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convented of mine ordinary for this cause, which you go about to inquire of me." Bishop Bonner not lawful ordinary to Philpot.

Bonner:—"How say you, master doctor Cole? may not I proceed against him by the law, for that he hath done in my diocese?"

Cole:—"Methinketh master Philpot needeth not to stand so much with your lordship in that point as he doth, since you seek not to hinder him, but to further him: therefore I think it best that he go to the matter that is laid against him, of the convocation, and make no longer delay."

Philpot:—"I would willingly shew my mind of that matter; but I am sure it will be laid against me to my prejudice, when I come to judgment."

Cole:—"Why then, you may speak by protestation."

Philpot:—"But what shall my protestation avail in a cause of heresy (as you call it), if I speak otherwise than you will have me; since that which I spake in the convocation-house, being a place privileged, cannot now help me?"

Bonner:—"But, master doctor Cole, may not I proceed against him for that offence he hath done in my diocese?"

Cole:—"You may call him before you, my lord, if he be found in your diocese."

Philpot:—"But I have by force been brought out of mine own diocese to my lord's, and require to be judged of mine own ordinary; and therefore I know master doctor will not say of his knowledge, that your lordship ought to proceed against me." Philpot again appealeth from bishop Bonner to his ordinary.

And here master doctor would say nothing.

Worcester:—"Do you not think to find before my lord

here as good equity in your cause, as before your own ordinary?"

Philpot:—"I cannot blame my lord of London's equity, with whom (I thank his lordship) I have found more gentleness since I came, than of mine own ordinary (I speak it for no flattery) this twelvemonth and this half before, who never would call me to answer, as his lordship hath done now twice. No man is forbid to use his own right due unto him. But I ought not to be forestalled of my right; and therefore I challenge the same for divers other considerations."

Bonner:—"Now you cannot say hereafter but that you have been gently communed withal of my lords here; and yet you will be wilful and obstinate in your error and in your own opinions, and will not shew any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us."

Philpot:—"My lords, in that I do not declare my mind according to your expectation, is (as I have said) because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather than you should report me by this either obstinate or self-willed, without any just ground whereupon I stand; I will open unto you somewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, desiring your lordships, which seem to be pillars of the church of England, to satisfy me in the same; and I will refer all other causes, in the which I dissent from you, unto one or two articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in the which if I can by the scriptures be satisfied at your mouths, I shall as willingly agree to you as any other in all points."

Bonner:—"These heretics come always with their 'ifs,' as this man doth now, saying, '*If* he can be satisfied by the scriptures:' so that he will always have this exception, 'I am not satisfied,' although the matter be never so plainly proved against him. But will you promise to be satisfied, if my lords take some pains about you?"

Philpot:—"I say, my lord, I will be satisfied by the scriptures in that wherein I stand. And I protest here before God, and his eternal Son Jesus Christ my Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, and his angels, and you here present that be judges of that I speak, that I do not stand in any

opinion of wilfulness or singularity, but only upon my conscience, certainly informed by God's word, from the which I dare not go for fear of damnation; and this is the cause of mine earnestness in this behalf."

Bonner:—"I will trouble my lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind."

Philpot:—"I am about so to do, if it please your lordship to hear me speak."

Bath:—"Give him leave, my lord, to speak that he hath to say."

Philpot:—"My lords, it is not unknown to you, that the chief cause why you do count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is because we be not at unity with your church. You say you are of the true church; and we say, we are of the true church. You say, that whosoever is out of your church is damned; and we think verily on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore, if your lordship can bring any better authorities for your church than we can do for ours, and prove by the scriptures that the church of Rome now (of the which you are) is the true catholic church, as in all your sermons, writings, and arguments you do uphold, and that all christian persons ought to be ruled by the same under pain of damnation (as you say), and that the same church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the scriptures as it seemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only; I shall be as conformable to the same church as you may desire me, the which otherwise I dare not: therefore I require you, for God's sake, to satisfy me in this."

The chiefest controversy in the church of Christ now, is to know which is the true church of Christ.

Cole:—"If you stand upon this point only, you may soon be satisfied and you list."

Philpot:—"It is the thing that I require, and to this, I have said, I will stand, and refer all other controversies wherein I stand now against you; and will put my hand thereto, if you mistrust my word."

Bonner:—"I pray you, master Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith."

Philpot:—"My lord, to tell you plain, I think I was

of no faith: for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then, as I ought to do; God forgive me!"

Bonner:—"No faith? That is not so. I am sure you were of some faith."

Philpot:—"My lord, I have declared to you on my conscience what I then was, and judge of myself. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?"

Bonner:—"Master doctor Cole, I pray you say your mind to him."

Cole:—"What will you say, if I can prove that it was decreed by a universal council in Athanasius's time, that all the christian church should follow the determination of the church of Rome? but I do not now remember where."

Philpot:—"If you, master doctor, can shew me the same granted to the see of Rome by the authority of the scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I think you be not able to shew any such thing: for Athanasius was president of the Nicene Council, and there was no such thing decreed, I am sure."

Athanasius misalleged.

Cole:—"Though it were not then, it might be at another time."

Philpot:—"I desire to see the proof thereof."

And upon this master Harpsfield, chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Irenæus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops, to help them in their perplexity, if it might be: the which after the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the bishop of Gloucester gave me the book.

Gloucester:—"Take the book, master Philpot, and look upon that place, and there may you see how the church of Rome is to be followed of all men."

A place of Irenæus alleged.

I took the book, and read the place, the which after I had read, I said it made nothing against me, but against the Arians and other heretics, against whom Irenæus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, because they did teach and follow after strange doctrine in Europe; and that the chief church of the same was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to his time continued by faithful succession of the faithful bishops in preaching the true gospel, as they had

received it of the apostles, and nothing like to these late sprung heretics, &c.; whereby he concludeth against them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited[1]. "The which thing if you, my lords, be able to prove now of the church of Rome, then had you as good authority against me in my cause now, as Irenæus had against those heretics. But the church of Rome hath swerved from that truth and simplicity of the gospel, which it maintained in Irenæus's time, and was then uncorrupted from that which it is now: wherefore your lordships cannot justly apply the authority of Irenæus to the church of Rome now, which is so manifestly corrupted from the primitive church."

The church of Rome not now as it was in the time of Irenæus.

Bonner:—"So will you say still, it maketh nothing for the purpose, whatsoever authority we bring, and will never be satisfied."

Philpot:—"My lord, when I do by just reason prove that the authorities which be brought against me do not make to the purpose (as I have already proved), I trust you will receive mine answer."

Worcester:—"It is to be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced the same."

The church of Rome never deceived!

Philpot:—"Let that be proved, and I have done."

Worcester:—"Nay, you are of such arrogancy, singularity, and vain-glory, that you will not see it, be it never so well proved."

Philpot:—"Ha! my lords, is it now time, think you, for me to follow singularity or vain-glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And I know, if I die not in the

[1 Sed quoniam valdè longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximæ, et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, à gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab apostolis traditionem, et annunciatam hominibus fidem, per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confundimus omnes eos qui quoquo modo, vel per sui placentiam malam, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cœcitatem et malam sententiam, præter quam oportet colligunt. Irenæi adversus Hæreses, Lib. II. Cap. iii. p. 201. Oxon. 1702. The Greek version of the above passage is not extant.]

true faith, I shall die everlastingly. And again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and many thousands more: yet had I rather perish at your hands, than to perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my commodities of this world, and lie in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog, with the which I am well contented."

Cole:—"Where are you able to prove that the church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what history? Certain it is by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was bishop twenty-five years at Rome."

Philpot:—"I know well that Eusebius so writeth: but
Gal. i. if we compare that which St Paul writeth to the Galatians, the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past thirty-five years after he was called to be an apostle; and Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ's death more than thirteen years[1]."

Cole:—"What! did Peter write to the Galatians?"

Philpot:—"No: I say, Paul maketh mention of Peter, writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jerusalem: and further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historiographers, that the church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because she agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive church did use according to the gospel, and there needeth none other proof but compare the one with the other."

Bonner:—"I may compare this man to a certain man I read of, which fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself; and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on the which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you, master doctor, go forth with him."

Cole:—"My lord, there be on every side on me that be better able to answer him, and I love not to fall into disputation; for that now-a-days a man shall but sustain shame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had rather shew my mind in writing."

[1] Abiding after Christ's death more than eighteen years, ed. 1559.]

Philpot:—"And I had rather that you should do so than otherwise; for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument; and I beseech you so to do. But if I were a rich man, I durst wager a hundred pounds, that you shall not be able to shew that you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius's time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa many years after, that none of Africa (under pain of excommunication) should appeal to Rome: the which decree I am sure they would not have made, if by the scriptures and by a universal council it had been decreed, that all men should abide and follow the determination of the church of Rome."

Reason why it is not like that in Athanasius's time all men were bound to abide the determination of Rome.

Cole:—"But I can shew that they revoked that error again."

Philpot:—"So you say, master doctor; but I pray you shew me where. I have hitherto heard nothing of you for my contentation, but bare words without any authority."

Bonner:—"What? I pray you, ought we to dispute with you of our faith? Justinian in the law hath a title, *De fide catholica*[2], to the contrary."

Philpot:—"I am certain the civil law hath such a constitution: but our faith must not depend upon the civil law; for, as St Ambrose saith, 'Not the law, but the gospel hath gathered the church together[3].'"

Not the law, but the gospel, gathered the church together.

Worcester:—"Master Philpot, you have the spirit of pride wherewith ye be led, which will not let you to yield to the truth: leave it for shame."

Philpot:—"Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of faith, by the which I speak at this present; neither am I ashamed to stand to my faith."

Gloucester:—"What? do you think yourself better learned than so many notable learned men as be here?"

Philpot:—"Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred priests against him."

Four hundred priests against one Elias.

Worcester:—"Oh, you would be counted now for Elias: and yet I tell thee he was deceived; for he thought there

[2 Decretalium Bonifacii Papæ VIII. Lib. I. Tit. I. Taurini, 1620. "De Summa Trinitate et fide catholicâ."]

[3 Non lex ecclesiam congregavit, sed fides Christi. Ambros. Op. Par. 1690. Tom. II. col. 870. 24.]

had been none good but himself, and yet he was deceived, for there were seven thousand beside him[1]."

Philpot:—"Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other four hundred were."

Worcester:—"By my faith, you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the church which ever hath been of that faithful antiquity."

Philpot:—"My lord, I know Rome, and have been there, where I saw your lordship."

Worcester:—"Indeed I did fly from hence thither, and I remember not that I saw you there. But I am sorry that you have been there: for the wickedness which you have seen there peradventure causeth you to do as you do."

Philpot:—"No, my lord, I do not as I do for that cause: for I am taught otherwise by the gospel, not altogether to refuse the minister for his evil living, so that he bring sound doctrine out of God's book."

Whether the universal church may be deceived?

Worcester:—"Do you think the universal church may be deceived?"

Philpot:—"St Paul to the Thessalonians prophesieth, that there should come a universal departing from the faith in the [2 Thes. ii.] latter days, before the coming of Christ; saying, 'Christ shall not come, till there come a departing first'."

A defection prophesied of the church.

Cole:—"Yea, I pray you, how take you the departing there in St Paul? It is not meant of faith, but of the departing from the empire: for it is in Greek ἀποστασία."

Philpot:—"Marry indeed you, master doctor, put me in good remembrance of the meaning of St Paul in that place; for *apostasia* is properly a departing from the faith, and thereof cometh *apostata*, which properly signifieth one that departeth from his faith: and St Paul in the same place after speaketh of the decay of the empire."

Cole:—"*Apostasia* doth not only signify a departing from the faith, but also from the empire, as I am able to shew."

Philpot:—"I never read it so taken; and when you shall be able to shew it (as you say in words), I will believe it, and not before."

[1 Seven hundred besides him, ed. 1559.]

Worcester:—"I am sorry that you should be against the christian world."

Philpot:—"The world commonly, and such as be *called* Christians; for the multitude have hated the truth, and been enemies to the same."

Gloucester:—"Why, master Philpot, do you think that the universal church hath erred, and you only to be in the truth?" The pope's church which now is, was never universal.

Philpot:—"The church that you are of was never universal; for two parts of the world, which is Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, as at this day they do not, neither do follow his decrees."

Gloucester:—"Yes, in the Florentine council they did agree[2]."

Philpot:—"It was said so by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home: but it was not so indeed, as the sequel of them all hitherto doth prove the contrary."

Gloucester:—"I pray you, by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy which happen daily?"

Philpot:—"By the word of God. For Christ saith in St John, 'The word that he spake shall be judge in the latter day'." The word or the church judge in controversies.

Gloucester:—"What, if you take the word one way, and I another way? who shall be judge then?"

Philpot:—"The primitive church."

Gloucester:—"I know, you mean the doctors that wrote thereof."

Philpot:—"I mean verily so."

Gloucester:—"What, if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another? who shall be judge then?"

Philpot:—"Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word."

Cole:—"My lords, why do you trouble yourselves to answer him in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid

[2 Begun to be held A.D. 1438. Its principal aim was to restore and establish union in faith and rites between the Greek and Latin churches. This union was effected by various arts and threats through the subscriptions of certain of the Greek party. (Vid. Sagittarii Introd. ad Hist. Eccl. Tom. II. p. 1064.) The union did not last long. Vid. Mosheim. cent. xv.]

to his charge, but his error of the sacrament; and he, to shift himself off that, brought in another matter."

Philpot:—"This is the matter, master Cole, to the which I have referred all other questions, and desire to be satisfied."

Worcester:—"It is a wonder to see how he standeth with a few against a great multitude."

Philpot's prophecy of the increase of the gospel.

Philpot:—"We have almost as many as you: for we have Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the gospel doth increase; so that I am credibly informed, that for this religion in the which I stand, and for the which I am like to die, a great multitude doth daily come out of France through persecution, that the cities of Germany be scarce able to receive them. And therefore your lordship may be sure, the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary."

Worcester:—"They were well occupied to bring you such news, and you have been well kept to have such resort unto you. Thou art the arrogantest fellow, and stoutest fond fellow, that ever I knew."

Philpot:—"I pray your lordship to bear with my hasty speech; for it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily: but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your lordship."

Philpot put off to another day.

Bonner:—"Master Philpot, my lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go from whence you came, and have such favour as in the meanwhile I can shew you; and upon Wednesday next you shall be called again to be heard what you can say for maintenance of your error."

Philpot:—"My lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I have required; and your lordship shall find me, as I have said."

Worcester:—"We wish you as well as ourselves."

Philpot:—"I think the same, my lords; but I fear you are deceived, and have a zeal of yourselves, not according to knowledge."

Worcester:—"God send you more grace."

Philpot:—"And also God increase the same in you, and open your eyes, that you may see to maintain his truth and his true church."

Then the bishops rose up and consulted together, and caused a writing to be made, in the which I think my blood by them was bought and sold; and thereto they put their hands. And after this I was carried to my coal-house again.

Thus endeth the fourth part of this tragedy. God hasten the end thereof to his glory! Amen.

John Philpot to certain that required him to write his examinations.

Because I have begun to write unto you of mine examinations before the bishop and others, more to satisfy your desire than that it is any thing worthy to be written; I have thought it good to write unto you also that which had been done of late, that the same might come to light which they do in darkness and in privy corners, and that the world now and the posterity hereafter might know how unorderly, unjustly, and unlearnedly these ravening wolves do proceed against the silly and faithful flock of Christ, and condemn and persecute the sincere doctrine of Christ in us, which they are not able by honest means to resist, but only by tyranny and violence.

THE FIFTH EXAMINATION. The fifth examination of John Philpot, had before the bishops of London, Rochester, Coventry, St Asaph (I trow), and one other, whose see I know not, Dr Story, Curtop, Dr Saverson, Dr Pendleton, with divers other chaplains and gentlemen of the queen's chamber, and divers other gentlemen, in the gallery of my lord of London's palace.

Bonner:—"Master Philpot, come you hither. I have desired my lords here and other learned men to take some pains once again, and to do you good. And because I do mind to sit in judgment on you to-morrow (as I am commanded), yet I would you should have as much favour as I can shew you, if you will be any thing conformable. There-

fore play the wise man, and be not singular in your own opinion, but be ruled by these learned men."

Philpot ready to yield his life in Christ's cause.

Philpot:—"My lord, in that you say you will sit on me in judgment to-morrow, I am glad thereof; for I was promised by them which sent me unto you, that I should have been judged the next day after: but promise hath not been kept with me, to my farther grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you be to require it."

Bonner:—"Lo, what a wilful man is this! By my faith, it is but folly to reason with him, neither with any of these heretics. I am sorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to shew extremity against you."

Philpot:—"My lord, you need not to shew extremity against me, unless you list: neither by the law (as I have said) have you any thing to do with me, for that you are not mine ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your prison."

Bonner:—"Why, the queen's commissioners sent you hither unto me upon your examination had before them. I know not well the cause; but I am sure they would not have sent you hither to me, unless you had made some talk to them otherwise than it becometh a christian man."

Philpot:—"My lord, indeed they sent me hither without any occasion then ministered by me. Only they laid unto me the disputation I made in the convocation-house, requiring me to answer to the same and to recant it; the which because I would not do, they sent me hither to your lordship."

Bonner:—"Why did you not answer them thereto?"

Philpot:—"For that they were temporal men, and ought not to be judges in spiritual causes, whereof they demanded me, without shewing any authority whereby I was bound to answer them; and hereupon they committed me to your prison."

Bonner:—"Indeed I remember now, you maintained open heresy in my diocese: wherefore the commissioners sent you unto me, that I should proceed against you for that you have spoken in my diocese."

Philpot's just defence for speaking in the parliament.

Philpot:—"My lord, I stand still upon my lawful plea in this behalf; that, though it were as great a heresy as you suppose it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefore,

in respect of the privilege of the parliament-house, whereof the convocation-house is a member, where all men in matters propounded may frankly speak their minds. And here is present a gentleman of the queen's majesty's, that was present at the disputation, and can testify that the questions which were there in controversy were not set forth by me, but by the prolocutor, who required, in the queen's majesty's name, all men to dispute their minds freely in the same, that were of the house."

The Queen's Gentleman:—"Though the parliament-house be a place of privilege for men of the house to speak, yet may none speak any treason against the queen, or maintain treason against the crown."

Philpot:—"But if there be any matter which otherwise it were treason to speak of, were it treason for any person to speak therein, specially the thing being proposed by the speaker? I think not."

The Queen's Gentleman:—"You may make the matter easy enough to you yet, as I perceive, if you will revoke the same which you did there so stubbornly maintain."

St Asaph:—"This man did not speak under reformation, as many there did, but ἀγωνιστικῶς and κατηγορικῶς[1], which is, earnestly and persuasibly, as ever I heard any."

Philpot:—"My lords, since you will not cease to trouble me for that I have lawfully done, neither will admit my just defence for that was spoken in the convocation-house by me, contrary to the laws and custom of the realm; I appeal to the whole parliament-house, to be judged by the same, whether I ought thus to be molested for that I have there spoken." Philpot appealeth to the whole parliament house.

Rochester:—"But have you spoken and maintained the same since that time, or no?"

Philpot:—"If any man can charge me justly therewith, here I stand to make answer."

Rochester:—"How say you to it now? will you stand to that you have spoken in the convocation-house, and do you think you said then well, or no?"

Philpot:—"My lord, you are not mine ordinary to proceed *ex officio* against me, and therefore I am not bound to tell you my conscience of your demands."

[1 ἀγορικῶς, ed. 1559.]

St Asaph:—"What say you now? Is there not in the blessed sacrament of the altar [and with that they put off all their caps for reverence of that idol] the presence of our Saviour Christ, really and substantially, after the words of consecration?"

Philpot:—"I do believe in the sacrament of Christ's body, duly ministered, to be such manner of presence, as the word teacheth me to believe."

St Asaph:—"I pray you, how is that?"

Philpot:—"As for that, I will declare another time, when I shall be lawfully called to dispute my mind of this matter; but I am not yet driven to that point. And the scripture saith, 'All things ought to be done after an order'." [1 Cor. xiv. 40.]

Another Bishop:—"This is a froward and vain-glorious man."

Bonner:—"It is not lawful for a man by the civil laws to dispute of his faith openly, as it appeareth in the title *De summa Trinitate et fide Catholica*[1]."

Philpot:—"My lord, I have answered you to this question before."

Bonner:—"Why, I never asked thee of this before now."

Philpot:—"Yes, that you did at my last examination, by that token I answered your lordship by St Ambrose, that the church is congregated by the word, and not by man's law. Wherefore I add now further of this saying, 'That he which refuseth the word, and objecteth the law, is an unjust man, because the just shall live by faith.' And moreover, my lord, the title which your lordship allegeth out of the law, maketh it not unlawful to dispute of all the articles of the faith, but of the Trinity." [Hab. ii. 14.]

Bonner:—"Thou liest, it is not so: and I will shew you by the book how ignorant he is."

[1 Sed quia nonnulli propter irrefragabilis præmissæ veritatis ignorantiam in errores varios sunt prolapsi: Nos hujusmodi erroribus viam præcludere cupientes, hoc sacro approbante concilio, damnamus et reprobamus omnes qui negare præsumpserint, æternaliter Spiritum sanctum ex Patre et Filio procedere. Decretalium Lib. I. Tit. I. col. ix. Taurin. 1620. The argument of Bonner in this place, as well as in a subsequent passage, seems to be an inference from the words "negare præsumpserint."]

And with that he went with all haste to his study, and fetched his book, and openly read the text, and the title of the law; and charged me with such words as seemed to make for his purpose, saying, "How sayest thou to this?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I say, as I said before, that the law meaneth of the catholic faith, determined in the council of Chalcedon[2], where the articles of the creed were only concluded upon."

Bonner:—"Thou art the veriest beast that ever I heard: I must needs speak it: thou compellest me thereunto."

Philpot:—"Your lordship may speak your pleasure of me: but what is this to the purpose, which your lordship is so earnest in? You know that our faith is not grounded upon the civil law: therefore it is not material to me, whatsoever the law saith." Our faith not grounded upon the civil law.

Bonner:—"By what law wilt thou be judged? Wilt thou be judged by the common law?"

Philpot:—"No, my lord, our faith dependeth not upon the laws of man."

St Asaph:—"He will be judged by no law, but as he listeth himself."

Worcester:—"The common laws are but abstracts of the scriptures and doctors."

Philpot:—"Whatsoever you do make them, they are no ground of my faith, by the which I ought to be judged."

Bonner:—"I must needs proceed against thee to-morrow."

Philpot:—"If your lordship so do, I will have *exceptionem fori*[3]: for you are not my competent judge."

Bonner:—"By what law canst thou refuse me to be thy judge?"

Philpot:—"By the civil law, *De competente judice*[4]."

Bonner:—"There is no such title in the law. In what book is it, as cunning a lawyer as you be?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I take upon me no great cunning

[2 Qui autem fidem repudiat, et legis jura præscribit, ipse se testatur injustum, quia *Justus ex fide vivit*. Ambros. Op. Par. 1690. Tom. II. col. 870. 24.]

[3 See note, p. 7.]

[4 There is a title in the second book of the Decretals, De foro competenti, to which, possibly, the reference may have been intended. Vid. Decretalium, Lib. II. Tit. II. Pithæi Corp. Jur. Can. Par. 1687.]

in the law: but you drive me to my shifts for my defence. And I am sure, if I had the books of the law, I were able to shew what I say."

Bonner:—"What? *De competente judice?* I will go fetch thee my books. There is a title indeed, *De officiis judicis ordinarii*[1]."

Philpot:—"Verily that is the same *De competente judice*, which I have alleged."

With that he ran to his study, and brought the whole course of the law between his hands, which (as it might appear) he had well occupied, by the dust they were imbrued withal.

Bonner:—"There be the books: find it out, if thou canst, and I will promise to release thee out of prison."

Philpot:—"My lord, I stand not here to reason matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same; for that I have been a student in the same six or seven years; but to answer to the articles of faith, with the which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defence."

Bonner:—"Why, thou wilt answer directly to nothing thou art charged withal: therefore say not hereafter but you might have been satisfied here by learned men, if you would have declared your mind."

Philpot returneth again to his question of the church.

Philpot:—"My lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the bishops at my last being before you, desiring you to be satisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other controversies: the which if your lordships now, or other learned men, can simply resolve me of,

[1 Ut clericorum audacia (qui prætextu privilegii clericalis ordinis impunitatem excessuum obtinere sperantes, nonnulla multotiens committunt enormia, per quæ nimirum diffamatur ecclesia, et scandala gravia in populo generantur, potissimè cum talia per episcopos, ad quos horum spectat correctio, deferantur ut plurimùm incorrecta) propensiùs compescatur: Eisdem episcopis districtè injungimus, quatenus sic circa correctionem clericorum hujusmodi vigilanter intendant, et diligenter sui officii debitum exequantur, quòd et iidem clerici metu pœnæ à suis arceantur insolentiis, et alii eorum exemplo perterriti prosilire ad similia meritò pertimescant. Decretalium Clementinarum, Lib. II. Tit. IX. p. 354. Pithœi Corp. Jur. Can. De officio judicis ordinarii.]

I am as contented to be reformable in all things, as you shall require; the which is, to prove that the church of Rome (whereof you are) is the catholic church."

Coventry:—"Why, do you not believe your creed, *Credo ecclesiam catholicam?*"

Philpot:—"Yes, that I do: but I cannot understand Rome (wherewithal you burden us) to be the same, neither like to it."

St Asaph:—"It is most evident, that St Peter did build the catholic church at Rome. And Christ said, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam.* Moreover, the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place so well; which is a manifest probation of the catholic church, as divers doctors do write."

Philpot:—"That you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and that by the authority which you allege of Christ, saying unto Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church;' unless you can prove the rock to signify Rome, as you would make me falsely believe. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the catholic church is builded, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remain."

Bonner:—"Is there any more churches than one catholic church? And, I pray you, tell me into what faith were you baptized?"

Philpot:—"I acknowledge one holy catholic and apostolic church, whereof I am a member (I praise God), and am of that catholic church of Christ whereunto I was baptized."

Coventry:—"I pray you, can you tell what this word 'catholic' doth signify? shew, if you can."

Philpot:—"Yes, that I can, I thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not, as now a days the people be taught, to be that which is most universal, or of most part of men received, whereby you do infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not so; but I esteem the catholic church to be as St Augustine defineth the

The pope's faith hangeth upon the multitude.

Fides catholica.

same[1]: 'We judge,' saith he, 'the catholic faith, of that which hath been, is, and shall be.' So that, if you can be able to prove that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and shall be, then may you count yourselves catholic: otherwise not. And catholic is a Greek word compounded of *κατὰ*, which signifieth *after* or *according*, and *ὅλον*, a *sum*, or *principal*, or *whole*[2]. So that catholic church, or catholic faith, is as much to say, as the first, whole, sound, or chiefest faith."

Bonner:—"Doth St Augustine say so as he allegeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the same? How say you, master Curtop?"

Curtop:—"Indeed, my lord, St Augustine hath such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the catholic faith ought to be esteemed of things in time past, and as they are practised according to the same, and ought to be through all ages; and not after a new manner, as the Donatists began to profess."

Philpot:—"You have said well, master Curtop, and after the meaning of St Augustine, and to confirm that which I have said for the signification of catholic."

Coventry:—"Let the book be seen, my lord."

Bonner:—"I pray you, my lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off, and let all alone. Do you think the catholic church (until it was within these few years, in the which a few upon singularity have swerved from the same) have erred?"

Philpot:—"I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine; but I require you to prove this church of Rome to be the catholic church."

Curtop:—"I can prove that Irenæus (which was within a hundred years after Christ) came to Victor, when bishop of

[1 Non autem asserit (scriptura sc.) nisi catholicam fidem rebus præteritis et futuris et præsentibus. Augustini Op. Par. 1680, De Doctrinâ Christianâ, Lib. III. Tom. III. col. 49.]

[2 Quæstio certè inter nos versatur ubi sit ecclesia, utrùm apud nos, an apud illos. Quæ utique una est, quam majores nostri catholicam nominârunt, ut ex ipso nomine ostenderent, quia per totum est. Secundùm totum enim, *καθ' ὅλον* Græcè dicitur. Augustini Op. Par, 1694. Ep. contr. Donatist, Tom. IX. col. 338, § 2.]

Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics[3]; the which he would not have done (by all likelihood) if he had not taken him to be supreme head."

Coventry:—"Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer the same? Answer, if you can."

Philpot:—"It is soon answered, my lord, for that it is of no force; neither this fact of Irenæus maketh no more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome than mine hath done, which have been at Rome as well as he, and might have spoken with the pope, if I had list: and yet I would none in England did favour his supremacy more than I."

St Asaph:—"You are the more to blame, by the faith of my body, for that you favour the same no better, since all the catholic church (until these few years) have taken him to be the supreme head of the church, besides this good man Irenæus."

Philpot:—"That is not likely, that Irenæus so took him, or the primitive church: for I am able to shew seven general councils after Irenæus's time, wherein he was never so taken; which may be a sufficient proof, that the catholic primitive church never took him for supreme head."

Seven general councils in which the bishop of Rome was never taken for supreme head.

The other Bishop:—"This man will never be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him."

Philpot:—"Oh, my lords, would you have me satisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who of us hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by these many general councils am able to prove, that he was never so taken in many hundred years after Christ, as by the Nicene, the first and second Ephesine, the Chalcedonian, the Constantinopolitan, the Carthaginian, and that at Aquileia."

Coventry:—"Why will you not admit the church of Rome to be the catholic church?"

[3 Ἕως ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος Βίκτωρ ἄμετρα θερμανθεὶς, ἀκοινώνησίαν τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατίταις ἀπέστειλεν· ἐφ' ᾧ γενομένῳ Εἰρηναῖος, ὁ Λουγδούνου τῆς ἐν Γαλλίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος, τοῦ Βίκτορος δι' ἐπιστολῆς γενναίως κατέδραμεν· μεμψάμενος μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν θερμότητα. Socratis Hist. Eccl. Par. 1668. Lib. v. cap. xxii. p. 284.]

Philpot:—"Because it followeth not the primitive catholic church, neither agreeth with the same, no more than an apple is like a nut."

The church of Rome dissenteth from the primitive church.

Coventry:—"Wherein doth it dissent?"

Philpot:—"It were too long to recite all; but two things I will name, the supremacy and transubstantiation."

Curtop:—"As for transubstantiation, albeit it was set forth and decreed for an article of faith not much above three hundred years, yet it was always believed in the church."

Bonner:—"Yea, that was very well said of you, master Curtop."

Transubstantiation is but a late plantation.

Philpot:—"Ye have said right, that transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the bishop of Rome; and you are not able to shew any ancient writer, that the primitive church did believe any such thing."

And with this Curtop shrank away. And immediately after the ambassador of Spain came in, to whom my lord of London went, leaving the other with me. To whom I said,

Philpot returneth again to his issue.

"My lords, if you can shew me that this church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true catholic church, I shall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the same as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no salvation but within the church."

Coventry:—"Can you disprove that the church of Rome is not the catholic church?"

Rome is not the catholic church, and why.

Philpot:—"Yea, that I am able; but I desire rather to hear of you for the proof thereof. And seeing I cannot have my request at your hands, neither be satisfied with any probable authority, I will shew you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic, as it was indeed, and ought to be, the form and school-mistress of the church to the world's end; then is not the church of Rome now the catholic church, which dissenteth so far from the same both in doctrine and use of the sacraments."

Coventry:—"How prove you that the church of Rome now dissenteth in doctrine and use of the sacraments from the primitive church?"

Philpot:—"Compare the one with the other, and it shall soon appear; as you may see both in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical and ancient writers."

Coventry:—"What have you to say more, why it is not the catholic church?"

Philpot:—"Because it is not (by your interpretation of 'catholic') universal, neither ever was, albeit you falsely persuade the people that it is so. For, the world being divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe; two parts thereof, Asia and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, did never consent to the church of Rome, which is of Europe; which is a sufficient testimony that your church was never universal."

The faith of the pope's church now was never universal.

Coventry:—"How prove you that?"

Philpot:—"All the historiographers, which write of the proceedings of the church, do testify the same. Besides that this present time doth declare that to be true, which I say: for at this present the church of Asia and Africa do not consent to the church of Rome. Yea, and besides all this, most part of Europe doth not agree, neither allow the church of Rome; as Germany, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdom of Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand; which is a manifest probation that your church is not universal."

And after this the bishop of London called away the other bishops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his chaplains, as Dr Saverson an Englishman, who had proceeded doctor at Bologna, who after began with me in this matter.

Dr Saverson:—"Master Philpot, I remember you beyond sea since the time you reasoned with a friar, a notable learned man, coming from Venice to Padua in a barge."

Philpot:—"I cannot forget that; for the friar threatened me to accuse me of heresy as soon as he came to Padua, for that I talked with him so boldly of the truth. He was no such learned man as you name him to be, but only in his school points, a good purgatory friar."

Dr Saverson:—"Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am sorry to hear that you this day, having communed with so many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them than you be."

Philpot:—"I will be conformable to all them that be conformable to Christ in his word. And I pray you, good master doctor, be not so conformable to please men more than God, contrary to your learning, for worldly estimation's sake."

Dr Saverson:—"No, that I am not. Upon what occasion should you think thus of me?"

Philpot:—Upon no evil that I do know of you, master doctor; but I speak as one wishing that you should not be led away from the truth for promotion's sake, as many doctors be now a days."

Dr Saverson:—"I have heard your arguments hitherto, and methinketh that a great many of the old ancient writers be against you in that you do not allow the church of Rome, neither the supremacy; for St Cyprian, who is an old ancient writer, doth allow the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church."

Philpot:—"That I am sure of he doth not: for he, writing unto Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, calleth him but his companion and fellow-bishop[1], neither attributed to him the name either of pope, or else of any other usurped terms which now be ascribed to the bishop of Rome, to the setting forth of his dignity."

Dr Saverson:—"You cannot be able to shew that St Cyprian calleth Cornelius his fellow-bishop."

Philpot:—"I will wager with you what I am able to make, that I can shew it you in Cyprian, as I have said."

Dr Saverson:—"I will lay none other wager with you, but book for book, that it is not so."

Philpot:—"I agree thereto, and I pray you one of my lord's chaplains to fetch us Cyprian hither for the trial hereof."

And with that one of them went to my lord's study, and brought forth Cyprian, and by and by he turned to the first book of his epistles, the third epistle[2]; and there would

[1 Cyprianus Cornelio fratri salutem. Venerunt ad nos, frater carissime, &c. Nam et ego, et collegæ plurimi qui ad me convenerant, expectavimus adventum collegarum nostrorum Caldonii et Fortunati, quos ad te nuper et ad coepiscopos nostros, qui ordinationi tuæ affuerant, legatos miseramus, &c. Cypriani Op. Par. 1726. Ep. XLI. p. 55.]

[2 Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quàm inde quòd sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesiâ ad tempus sacerdos et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur: cui si secundùm magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversùm sacerdotum collegium quicquam moveret, nemo post

have seemed to have gathered a strong argument for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, because he saith, "It goeth not well with the church when the high priest is not obeyed, which supplieth the stead of Christ, after God's word, and the consent of his fellow-bishops and the agreement of the people."

Dr Saverson:—"How can you avoid this place, which maketh so plainly for the bishop of Rome's supremacy?"

Saverson hath lost his book to Philpot.

Philpot:—"It maketh not so plain, master doctor, on your side, as you gather; as by and by I will give you to understand. But first I challenge the wager which we made, that your book is mine; for here you may see that he calleth Cornelius his fellow-bishop, as he doth also in other places. And now, for the understanding of that place, you do misconstrue it, to take the high priest only for the bishop of Rome, and otherwise than it was in his time. For there were by the Nicene council four patriarchs appointed, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the patriarch of Constantinople, the patriarch of Alexandria, and the patriarch of Rome; of which four, the patriarch of Rome was placed lowest in the council, and so continued many years[3], for the time of seven or eight general councils, as I am able to shew. Therefore St Cyprian, writing to Cornelius, patriarch of Rome, whom he calleth his fellow-bishop, findeth himself offended, that certain heretics, being justly excommunicated by him (as the Novatians were), did flee from his diocese, who was their chief bishop, refusing to be obedient to him and to be reformed, to the bishop of Rome and to the patriarch of Constantinople, and there were received in communion of the congregation, in derogation of good order and discipline in the church, and to the maintenance of heresies and schisms: and that heresies did spring up and schisms daily arise hereof, that obedience was not given to the priest of God, nor that they considered him to be in the church for the time the priest, and for the time the judge, in Christ's stead (as in the decree of the Nicene council was appointed),—not mean-

divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post coëpiscoporum consensum, judicem se jam, non episcopi, sed Dei, faceret. Cyprian. Op. Par. 1726. Ep. LV. p. 82.]

[3] Many hundred years, ed. 1559.]

ing the bishop of Rome only, but every patriarch in his precinct; who had every one of them a college or cathedral church of learned priests, in hearing of whom by a convocation of all his fellow-bishops, with the consent of the people, all heresies were determined by the word of God; and this is the meaning of St Cyprian."

Dr Saverson:—"You take it so, but it seemeth to me otherwise."

Philpot:—"Upon what ground it should seem otherwise unto you, I know not; but this meaning which I have declared, the general councils, seven or eight one after another, confirmed it so to be, which did not allow one supreme head only."

Pendleton:—"There were not so many general councils, but four only allowed."

Philpot:—"This is not so, master Pendleton, although there be four specially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinity; but besides these four there were many other general councils, as you may learn by many writers."

A Chaplain:—"Did not Christ build his church upon Peter? St Cyprian saith so."

How St Cyprian meaneth Christ to build his church upon Peter.

Philpot:—"St Cyprian *De simplicitate prælatorum* declareth in what respect he so said: 'God gave, in the person of one man, the keys of all, that he might signify the unity of all men[1].' And also St Augustine saith in the tenth treatise of St John, 'If in Peter had not been the mystery of the church, the Lord had not said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys. For if that were said to Peter, the church hath them not; if the church have them, when Peter received them, he signified the whole church[2].' And also

[1] This passage has not been found; but the following words contain the substance of the sentiment: "Ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem suâ auctoritate disposuit." Cypr. de Unitate Ecclesiæ, Ed. Par. 1726. p. 195. "De Simplicitate Prælatorum" is the title in the old editions: "De unit. Eccl." is that by which the Fathers make mention of it. See Dupin's Eccl. Hist. Vol. I. p. 161.]

[2] Nam si in Petro non esset ecclesiæ sacramentum, non ei diceret Dominus, Tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum: quæcunque solveris in terra, soluta erunt et in cœlo; et quæcunque ligaveris in terra, ligata erunt et in cœlo. Si hoc Petro tantum dictum est, non facit hoc eccle-

St Jerome, a priest of Rome, writing to Nepotian, saith, 'That all churches do lean to their own pastors;' where he speaketh of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or regiment, where he maketh no mention of the bishop of Rome[3]. And writing *Ad Evagrium*[4], he saith, 'that wheresoever a bishop be, whether it be at Rome, or at Evagium, or at Rhegium, he is of one power and one jurisdiction'."

Dr Saverson:—"St Jerome, *De cœlesti Hierarchiâ?* It was St Dionysius you mean[5]."

Philpot:—"I say not that Jerome wrote any book so intituled: but I say, that in the epistle by me alleged he maketh mention of the ecclesiastical regiment."

Dr Saverson:—"I wonder you will stand so stedfast in your error to your own destruction."

Philpot:—"I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true church such "a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries thereof should never be able to resist." And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reasoning, neither by writing, your synagogue of Rome is able

sia: si autem et in ecclesia fit, ut quæ in terrâ ligantur, in cœlo ligentur, et quæ solvuntur in terrâ, solvantur in cœlo; quia cùm excommunicat ecclesia, in cœlo ligatur excommunicatus; cùm reconciliatur ab ecclesiâ, in cœlo solvitur reconciliatus; si hoc ergo in ecclesiâ fit, Petrus quando claves accepit, ecclesiam sanctam significavit. Augustini Op. Par. 1680. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 633, § 12.]

[3 While the letter of Jerome to Nepotian "de Vitâ Clericorum et Monachorum" 'contains many sentences which recognize and imply the ecclesiastical regiment', the words alluded to do not appear in it. "Sciat episcopus cui commissa est ecclesia," is the nearest expression to that in the text, which has been found. Vide Hieron. Op. Par. 1706. Epist. XXXIV. Tom. IV. col. 262.]

[4 Ubicumque fuerit Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, sive Alexandriæ, sive Tanis, ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii. Hieronym. Op. Par. 1706. Ep. CI. Tom. IV. p. 803.]

[5 The works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite are now generally considered spurious, and were so even in the time of Photius. The early writers made no mention of them; and various ecclesiastical terms and subjects are interspersed, long subsequent to the times of the Areopagite. For a reply to the arguments of Baronius and others in their defence, vide Dupin's Eccl. Hist. and Rivet. Crit. Sacr. Lib. I. § 9, 10.]

to answer. Where is there one of you all, that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly learned ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all at this day is able to answer Calvin's Institutions, who is minister of Geneva?"

False slander.

Dr Saverson:—"A godly minister, indeed, of receipt of cutpurses and runagate traitors! And of late, I can tell you, there is such contention fallen between him and his own sects, that he was fain to flee the town, about predestination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva hither."

Philpot:—"I am sure you blaspheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is minister; as it is your church's condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in none other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing to the scriptures."

Dr Saverson:—"Men be able to answer him if they list. And, I pray you, which of you have answered bishop Fisher's book?"

Philpot:—"Yes, master doctor, that book is answered and answered again, if you list to seek what hath been written against him."

Story cometh in.

And after this Dr Story came in. To whom I said, "Master doctor, you have done me great injury, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And, besides this, you have not kept promise with me; for you promised that I should be judged the next day after."

Story:—"I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a phantastical man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beast, yea, these heretics be worse than brute beasts; for they will, upon a vain singularity, take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools and ass-heads, not able to maintain that which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in."

Philpot:—"Master doctor, I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content; for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you list. God forgive it you; yet am I no heretic. Neither you nor

any other shall be able to prove that I hold any jot against the word of God otherwise than a christian man ought."

Story:—"The word of God! Forsooth, the word of God! It is but a folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But, as I may reason with thee (not that I have any hope to win thee), whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou standest?"

Philpot:—"Verily the word itself."

Story:—"Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? He willeth the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak?"

Philpot:—"If I cannot prove that which I have said by good authority, I will be content to be counted a heretic and an ignorant person; and further, what you please."

Story:—"Let us hear what wise authority thou canst bring in."

Philpot:—"It is the saying of Christ in St John (chap. xii.), 'The word which I have spoken,' saith Christ, 'shall judge in the last day.' If the word shall judge in the last day, much more it ought to judge our doings now: and I am sure I have my judge on my side, who shall absolve and justify me in another world. Howsoever now it shall please you by authority unrighteously to judge of me and others, sure I am in another world to judge you."

Story:—"What! you purpose to be a stinking martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel?"

Philpot:—"Yea, sir, I doubt not thereof, having the promise of Christ, if I die for righteousness' sake, which you have begun to persecute in me."

Story:—"I told you it was but vain to argue with this heretic; he is drowned in his heresies, without all learning."

Philpot:—"Sir, I have brought you, for that I have said, good authority out of God's book, to the which you answer nothing, but go about still to give railing judgment against me without any cause."

Story:—"I will come to you by and by. When the judge at Westminster Hall giveth sentence, doth the word give sentence, or the judge? tell me."

God's judgment and civil judgment not alike.

Philpot:—"Civil matters be subject to civil men; and they have authority by the word to be judges of them. But the word of God is not subject to man's judgment, but ought to judge all the wisdom, thoughts, and doings of men; and therefore your comparison disproveth nothing that I have said, neither answereth any whit thereto."

Story:—"Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the church upon the scriptures?"

The judgment of the church how far it serveth.

Philpot:—"Yes, if it be according to the true church: and this I say to you, as I have said heretofore, that if ye can prove the church of Rome, whereof ye are, to be the true catholic church which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yield thereto (as long as it can be so proved) as you may desire me."

Story:—"What a fellow is this! he will believe nothing but what he listeth himself. Are we not in possession of the church? have not our forefathers these many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church, whereof we are now? and if we had none other proof but this, it were sufficient; for prescription of time maketh a good title in the law."

Prescription of time.

Prescription of time maketh no title in God's matters.

Philpot:—"You do well, master doctor, to allege prescription of many years; for it is all that you have to shew for yourselves. But you must understand, that prescription hath no place in matters belonging unto God, as I am able to shew by the testimony of many doctors."

Dr Story confesseth himself to be the chief despatcher of all God's saints that suffered in queen Mary's time.

Story:—"Well, sir, you are like to go after your fathers, Latimer the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of arts, he trembled as though he had had the palsy; as these heretics have always some token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes do tremble in his head. But I despatched them; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never any one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his despatch."

Philpot:—"You have the more to answer for, master doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you do now triumph of your proceedings."

Story:—"I tell thee, I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak with my lord, I pray one of you tell my lord, that my coming was to signify to his lordship, that he must out of hand rid this heretic out of the way."

And, going away, he said to me, "I certify thee, that thou mayest thank none other man for it but me."

Philpot:—"I thank you therefore with all mine heart, and God forgive it you!"

Story:—"What! dost thou thank me? If I had thee in my study half an hour, I think I should make you sing another song." Story's cruelty.

Philpot:—"No, master doctor, I stand upon too sure a ground to be overthrown by you now."

And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left all alone. And afterwards, with my keeper going to my coal-house, as I went, I met with my lord of London, who spake unto me gently, as he hath hitherto in words, saying: Philpot left alone.

London:—"Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may shew you in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it."

Philpot:—"My lord, the pleasure that I will require of your lordship is to hasten my judgment, which is committed unto you, and so to despatch me forth of this miserable world unto my eternal rest." The strait handling of Philpot in prison, for all the bishop's fair words.

And for all his fair speech I cannot attain hitherto, this fortnight's space, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore praised be God, that hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladness to be content therewithal. Let all that love the truth say, Amen.

Thus endeth the fifth tragedy.

THE SIXTH EXAMINATION.

The sixth examination of John Philpot, had before the right honourable lords, the lord chamberlain to the queen's majesty, the Viscount Hereford,

commonly called Lord Ferrers, the Lord Riche, the Lord St John, the Lord Windsor, the Lord Chandos, Sir John Bridges, lieutenant of the tower, and two other more, whose names I know not, with the bishop of London and Dr Chedsey, the 6th day of November, Anno 1555.

Before that I [Philpot] was called afore the lords, and whiles they were in sitting down, the bishop of London came aside to me and whispered in mine ear, willing me to use myself before the lords of the queen's majesty's council prudently, and to take heed what I said: and thus he pretended to give me counsel, because he wished me to do well; as I might now do, if I list. And after the lords and other worshipful gentlemen of the queen's majesty's servants were set, my lord of London placed himself at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the lords I was placed at the upper end against him; where I kneeling down, the lords commanded me to stand up, and after in this manner the bishop began to speak:

London:—"Master Philpot, I have heretofore, both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more times than once, caused you to be talked withal to reform you of your errors; but I have not found you yet so tractable as I would wish. Wherefore now I have desired these honourable lords of the temporalty and of the queen's majesty's council, who have taken pains with me this day (I thank them therefore), to hear you what you can say, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good, or no: and I dare be bold to say, in their behalf, that if you shew yourself conformable to the queen's majesty's proceedings, you shall find as much favour for your deliverance as you can wish. I speak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home into the church. Now let them hear what you can say."

Philpot:—"My lord, I thank God of this day, that I have such an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your lordship's equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive church, which was, if anybody had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or

bishop of the diocese, where he was suspected; secondly, in the presence of others his fellow-bishops and learned elders; and thirdly, in hearing of the laity; where, after the judgment of God's word declared, and with the assent of other bishops and consent of the people, he was condemned to exile for a heretic, or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at your lordship's hand already, in being called before you and your fellow-bishops; and now have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness with my cause than I have found with my lords of the clergy. God grant I may have at last the judgment of God's word concerning the same."

London:—"Master Philpot, I pray you, ere you go any further, tell my lords here plainly, whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to prison or not, and whether I have shewed you any cruelty since ye have been committed to my prison."

Philpot:—"If it shall please your lordship to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward."

Riche:—"Answer first of all to my lord's two questions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How say you? were you imprisoned by my lord or no? can you find any fault since, with his cruel using of you?"

Philpot:—"I cannot lay to my lord's charge the cause of my imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly; but rather for my part I may say, that I have found more gentleness at his lordship's hands, than I did at mine own ordinary's, for the time I have been within his prison; for that he hath called me three or four times to mine answer, to the which I was not called in a twelvemonth and a half before." Bonner not the cause of Philpot's imprisonment.

Riche:—"Well, now go forth to your matter."

Philpot:—"The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputations had by me in the convocation-house against the sacrament of the altar; which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the queen's majesty and of the whole house; and that house, being a member of the parliament-house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and

laudable custom of this realm. Wherefore I think myself to have sustained hitherto great injury for speaking my conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honourable lordships' judgment, which be of the parliament-house, whether of right I ought to be impeached therefore, and sustain the loss of my living (as I have done), and moreover of my life, as it is sought."

Riche:—"You are deceived herein; for the convocation-house is no part of the parliament-house."

Philpot:—"My lord, I have always understood the contrary, by such as are more expert men in things of this realm than I: and again, the title of every act leadeth me to think otherwise, which allegeth the agreement of the spiritualty and temporalty assembled together."

Riche:—"Yea, that is meant of the spiritual lords of the upper house."

Windsor:—"Indeed the convocation-house is called together by one writ of the summons of the parliament, of an old custom; notwithstanding that house is no part of the parliament-house."

Philpot:—"My lords, I must be contented to abide your judgments in this behalf."

Riche:—"We have told you the truth. Marry, yet we would not that you should be troubled for any thing that there was spoken, so that you, having spoken amiss, do declare now that you are sorry therefore."

London:—"My lords, he hath spoken there manifest heresy; yea, and there stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar [and with that he put off his cap, that all the lords might reverence and veil their bonnets at that idol, as he[1] did], and would not allow the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same. Yet, my lords, God forbid that I should go about to shew him extremity for so doing, in case he will repent and revoke his wicked sayings; and if in faith he will so do, with your lordships' consent he shall be released by-and-by. If he will not, he shall have[2] the extremity of the law, and that shortly."

[1 "As they did," ed. 1559.]

[2 "He shall look for the extremity of the law," ed. 1559.]

Chamberlain:—"My lord of London speaketh reasonably unto you. Take it whiles it is offered you."

Riche:—"How say you? Will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, as all the learned men of this realm do, in the mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I do acknowledge in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ such a presence, as the word of God doth allow and teach me."

Riche:—"That shall be no otherwise than you list."

London:—"A sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; so that there is both the sign, which is the accident, as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of bread, and there is also the thing itself, as very Christ both God and man. But these heretics will have the sacraments to be but bare signs. How say you? declare unto my lords here, whether you do allow the thing itself in the sacrament or no."

Philpot:—"I do confess that in the Lord's Supper there is in due respects both the sign and thing signified[3], when it is duly ministered after the institution of Christ."

London:—"You may see how he goeth about the bush (as he hath done before with my lords of the clergy), and dare not utter his mind plainly."

Riche:—"Shew us what manner of presence you allow in the sacrament."

Philpot:—"If it please you, my lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will throughly open my mind therein."

Lord Chandos:—"I pray you, my lord, let him speak his mind."

Philpot:—"My lords, that at the first I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you, the reason is this, because I cannot speak hereof without the danger of my life."

Riche:—"There is none of us here that seeketh thy life, or means to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak."

Philpot:—"Although I mistrust not your honourable lordships that be here of the temporalty; yet here is one that

[3 "I do confess the sacrament both to be a sign and the thing itself, when," &c. ed. 1559.]

sitteth against me [pointing to my lord of London], that will lay it to my charge, even to the death. Notwithstanding, seeing your honours do require me to declare my mind of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, that ye may perceive that I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, neither do maintain any opinion without probable and sufficient authority of the scripture, I will shew you frankly my mind without all colour, whatsoever shall ensue unto me therefore, so that my lord of London will not let me to utter my mind."

Riche:—"My lord, permit him to say what he can, seeing he is willing to shew his mind."

London:—"I am content, my lords; let him say what he can, I will hear him."

The protestation of Philpot before the lords.

Philpot:—"That which I do intend to speak unto you, right honourable lords, I do protest here first before God and his angels, that I speak it not of vain-glory, neither of singularity, neither of wilful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded on God's word, against the which I dare not do for fear of damnation, which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neither do I disagree to the proceedings of this realm in religion, for that I love not the queen (whom I love from the bottom of my heart); but because I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws, though I stand, as I seem to do, in this consideration, and for none other, as God I call to witness. There be two things principally, by the which the clergy at this day do deceive the whole realm; that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the catholic church: the which both they do usurp, having indeed none of them both. And as touching their sacrament, which they term, of the altar, I say now as I said in the convocation-house, that it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any manner of Christ's presence. Wherefore they deceive the queen's majesty, and you of the nobility of this realm, in making you to believe that to be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God which is no God. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest proof, which I am able to make to the queen's majesty, and to all you of her nobility, I will yield my life: the which to do, if it were not upon a sure

The papists have neither the sacrament of the Lord's body, nor the true church.

ground, it were to my utter damnation. And whereas they take on them the name of the catholic church (whereby they blind many folks' eyes), they are nothing so, calling you from the true religion, which was revealed and taught in king Edward's time, unto vain superstition. And this I will say for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the catholic church (as they shall never be able to do), I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my lords, to be a mean[1] for me to the queen's majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial hereof. Yea, I will not refuse to stand against ten of the best of them in this realm: and if they be able to prove otherwise than I have said, either by writing or by reasoning, with good and lawful authority, I will here promise to recant whatsoever I have said, and to consent to them in all points."

Papists untruly usurp the name of the church.

Philpot offereth himself to stand against ten of the best learned in the realm, in the proof of his cause.

And in the declaration of these things more at large, which now I write in sum, the bishop of London eftsoons would have interrupted me, but the lords procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of the lord bishop of London, as it appeared by the dumps he was in.

London:—"It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale."

Riche:—"All heretics do boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself; as Joan of Kent and the Anabaptists. I had myself Joan of Kent a seven-night in my house, after the writ was out for her to be burnt, where my lord of Canterbury and bishop Ridley resorted almost daily unto her. But she was so high in the spirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their learning: but she went wilfully unto the fire, was burnt, and so do you now."

Philpot:—"As for Joan of Kent, she was a vain woman (I knew her well), and a heretic indeed, well worthy to be burnt, because she stood against one of the manifest articles of our faith, contrary to the scriptures. And such vain spirits be soon known from the true Spirit of God and his church, for that the same abideth within the limits of God's word, and will not go out of the same, neither stubbornly maintain any thing contrary to the word, as I

[1 A mean: a medium of communication and entreaty.]

have God's word thoroughly on my side to shew for that I stand in."

London:—"I pray you, how will you join me these two scriptures together, *Pater major me est;* and *Pater et ego unum sumus?* I must interpret the same, because my lords here understand not the Latin, that is to say, 'The Father is greater than I;' and 'I and the Father are one:' but I cry you mercy, my lords, I have misspoken in saying you understand no Latin; for the most part of you understand Latin as well as I. But I spake in consideration of my lord Chandos and master Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin men. Now shew your cunning, and join these two scriptures by the word, if you can."

Philpot:—"Yes, that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there be two natures, the divinity and humanity: and in respect of his humanity it is spoken of Christ, 'The Father is greater than I'; but in respect of his deity he said again, 'The Father and I be one'."

[John xiv. x.]

London:—"But what scripture have you?"

Philpot:—"Yes, I have sufficient scripture for the proof of that I have said. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, 'Thou hast made him a little lesser than angels.' It is the 15th Psalm, beginning *Cœli enarrant.*" And there I misreckoned, wherewithal my lord took me:

[Psal. viii. 5. Psal. xix. 1.]

London:—"It is in *Domine Dominus noster.* Ye may see, my lords, how well this man is used to say his matins."

Philpot:—"Though I say not matins in such order as your lordship meaneth; yet I remember of old, that *Domine Dominus noster*, and *Cœli enarrant*, be not far asunder. And albeit I misnamed the psalm, it is no prejudice to the truth of that I have proved."

London:—"What say you then to the second scripture? how couple you that by the word to the other?"

Scripture alleged.

Philpot:—"The text itself declareth, that notwithstanding Christ did abase himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in deity with the Father: and this St Paul to the Hebrews doth more at large set forth. As I have by the scriptures joined these two scriptures together, so am I able to do in all other articles of faith which we ought to believe, and by the manifest word of God to expound them."

[Heb. i. 3, 4, 8.]

London:—"How can that be, seeing St Paul saith, 'That the letter killeth, but it is the spirit that giveth life'?"

Philpot:—"St Paul meaneth not, that the word of God written in itself killeth (which is the word of life, and faithful testimony of the Lord); but that the word is unprofitable and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wisest man of the world. And therefore St Paul said, 'That the gospel to some was a savour of life unto life, and to some other a savour of death unto death'. Also an example hereof we have in John vi., of them who hearing the word of God without the Spirit, were offended thereby: wherefore Christ said, 'The flesh profiteth nothing; it is the Spirit that quickeneth'." How the letter killeth, and whom. [2 Cor. ii. John vi.]

London:—"What! do you understand that of St Paul and of St John so?"

Philpot:—"It is not mine own interpretation, it is agreeable to the word in other places; and I have learned the same of ancient fathers interpreting it likewise. And to the Corinthians it is written, 'The natural man perceiveth not the things that be of the Spirit of God; but the spiritual man, which is endued with the Spirit, judgeth all things'." [1 Cor. ii. 14, 15.]

London:—"You see, my lords, that this man will have his own mind; and will wilfully cast away himself. I am sorry for him."

Philpot:—"The words that I have spoken be none of mine, but of the gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you would draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same by you or by any other in this realm."

Wherefore I, kneeling down, besought the lords "to be good unto me, a poor gentleman, that would fain live in the world, if I might, and testify as you have heard me to say this day, that if any man can prove that I ought to be of any other manner of faith than that which I now am, and can prove the same sufficiently, I will be neither wilful, neither desperate, as my lord of London would make you believe me to be." Philpot's request to the lords.

Riche:—"What countryman be you? Are you of the Philpots of Hampshire?"

Philpot:—"Yea, my lord; I was Sir Peter Philpot's son of Hampshire."

Riche:—"He is my near kinsman; wherefore I am the more sorry for him."

Philpot:—"I thank your lordship that it pleaseth you to challenge kindred of a poor prisoner."

Riche:—"In faith I would go a hundred miles on my bare feet to do you good."

Chamberlain:—"He may do well enough, if he list."

St John:—"Master Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you should do well."

Riche:—"You said even now, that you would desire to maintain your belief before ten of the best in the realm. You did not well to compare with the nobility of the realm. But what if you have ten of the best in the realm to hear you, will you be tried by them?"

Philpot:—"My lord, your lordship mistaketh me to think that I challenge ten of the best of the nobility of this realm. It was no part of my mind; but I meant of the best learned on the contrary side."

Riche:—"Well, I take your meaning. What if means be made to the queen's majesty, that you shall have your request, will you be judged by them?"

Philpot:—"My lord, it is not meet, that a man should be judged by his adversaries."

Riche:—"By whom then would you be judged?"

Philpot:—"I will make your honours judges, that shall be hearers of us."

Riche:—"I dare be bold to procure for you of the queen's majesty, that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgment. How say you? will you promise here, afore my lords, so to do?"

Philpot:—"I will be contented to be judged by them."

Riche:—"Yea, but will you promise to agree to their judgment?"

Philpot:—"There be causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the word of God."

Riche:—"Oh, I perceive you will have no man judge but yourself, and think yourself wiser than all the learned men in this realm."

Philpot:—"My lord, I seek not to be mine own judge;

but am content to be judged by others, so that the order of judgment in matters of religion be kept that was in the primitive church; which is, first that God's will by his word was sought, and thereunto both the spiritualty and temporalty was gathered together, and gave their consents and judgment. And such kind of judgment I will stand to." The true order of judgment used in the primitive church.

London:—"My lords, he would make you believe that he were profoundly seen in ancient writers of the judgments of the primitive church; and there was never any such manner of judgment used as he now talketh of." Bonner bewrayeth his own ignorance.

Philpot:—"In the Epistles of St Cyprian I am able to shew it you."

London:—"Ah, I tell you there is no such thing; fetch me Cyprian hither."

Philpot:—"You shall find it otherwise when the book cometh."—And Dr Chedsey, his chaplain, whom he appointed to fetch his book, whispered the bishop in his ear, and fetched not the book, by likelihood that he should have sustained the reproach thereof, if the book had been fetched. "Well, my lord," quoth I, "master doctor knoweth it is so, or else he would have fetched the book ere this." Bonner dares not reach out his book.

Riche:—"You would have none other judge, I see, but the word."

Philpot:—"Yes, my lord: I will be tried by the word, and by such as will judge according to the word. As for an example, if there were a controversy between your lordship and another upon the words of a statute, must not the words of the statute judge and determine the controversy?"

Riche:—"No, marry, the judges of the law may determine of the meaning thereof."

London:—"He hath brought as good an example against himself as can be." Bonner triumphs before the victory.

And here the bishop thought he had good handfast against me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgment of the church.

The Lords:—"He hath overthrown himself by his own argument."

Philpot:—"My lords, it seemeth to your honours that you have great advantage of me by the example I brought in to express my cause: but if it be pondered thoroughly, it

maketh wholly with me, and nothing against me, as my lord of London hath pretended. For I will ask of my lord Riche here, whom I know to have good knowledge in the laws and statutes of this realm, albeit a judge may discern the meaning of a statute agreeable to the words, whether the same may judge a meaning contrary to the express words or no?"

Riche:—"He cannot do so."

Philpot:—"Even so say I, that no man ought to judge the word of God to have a meaning contrary to the express words thereof, as this false church of Rome doth in many things."

And with this the lords seemed to be satisfied, and made no further replication herein.

Objection of the lord Riche, why the words are not to be taken "This is my body."

Riche:—"I marvel then, why you do deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, saying, 'This is my body,' and yet you will not stick to say it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? and is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body, as he was to make man flesh of a piece of clay? Did not he say, 'This is my body which shall be betrayed for you?' and was not his very body betrayed for us? Therefore it must needs be his body."

London:—"My lord Riche, you have said wonderful well and learnedly; but you might have begun with him before also in the sixth of John, where Christ promised to give his body in the sacrament of the altar, saying, 'The bread which I will give is my flesh.' How can you answer to that?"

Philpot:—"If it please you to give me leave to answer first my lord Riche, I will also answer this objection."

Riche:—"Answer my lord of London first, and after come to me."

John vi. expounded, "The bread that I will give is my flesh," etc.

Philpot:—"My lord of London may be soon answered, that the saying of St John is, that the humanity of Christ, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life, whereby our bodies and souls be sustained to eternal life, of the which the sacramental bread is a lively representation and an effectual coaptation to all such as believe on his passion. And as Christ saith in the same sixth of John, 'I am the bread that came down from heaven;' but yet he is not material natural bread neither; likewise the bread is his flesh, not natural or substantial, but by signification, and by grace in the sacrament.

"And now to my lord Riche's argument. I do not deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, 'This is my body,' but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: they must be taken sacramentally and spiritually, according to the express declaration of Christ, saying that the words of the sacrament which the Capernaites took carnally, as the Papists now do, ought to be taken spiritually and not carnally, as they falsely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Christ hath made in this behalf, neither following the institution of Christ, neither the use of the apostles and of the primitive church, who never taught neither declared any such carnal manner of presence as is now exacted of us violently, without any ground of scripture or antiquity, who used to put out of the church all such as did not receive the sacrament with the rest, and also to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the canon of the apostles[1], and by the decree of the Council of Antioch may appear[2]."

Papists cater-cousins to the Capernaites. Transubstantiation hath neither ground of scripture nor antiquity.

London:—"No, that is not so; they were only *catechumeni*, which went out of the church at the celebration of the communion, and none other."

Philpot:—"It was not only of such as were novices in faith, but all others that did not receive."

London:—"What say you to the omnipotency of God[3]? Is not he able to perform that which he spake, as my lord Riche hath very well said? I tell thee, that God by his omnipotency may make himself to be this carpet, if he will."

Philpot:—"As concerning the omnipotency of God, I say

[1 Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας πιστοὺς, καὶ τῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει, ὡς ἀταξίαν ἐμποιοῦντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀφορίζεσθαι χρή. Concil. Labbei. Lutet. Par. 1671. Tom. I. Col. 27. Can. IX.]

[2 Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ κοινωνοῦντας δὲ εὐχῆς ἅμα τῷ λαῷ, ἢ ἀποστρεφομένους τὴν μετάληψιν τῆς εὐχαριστίας κατά τινα ἀταξίαν, τούτους ἀποβλήτους γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἕως ἂν ἐξομολογησάμενοι καὶ δείξαντες καρποὺς μετανοίας, καὶ παρακαλέσαντες, τυχεῖν δυνηθῶσι συγγνώμης. Concil. Labbei. Tom. II. Col. 561. Can. IX.]

[3 Asylum hæreticorum est omnipotentia Dei. The omnipotence of God hath always been the sanctuary of heretics, which was well said and often repeated amongst the ancients. Donne's Sermons, Vol. I. p. 320. Lond. 1839.]

Bonner's unreverent and blasphemous speaking of God. [Psal. cxxxv. 6.]

that God is able to do (as the prophet David saith) whatsoever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his word; as that is blasphemy which my lord of London hath spoken, that God may become a carpet. For, as I have learned of ancient writers, 'God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature,' as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature, and God is the creator; and the creator cannot be the creature. Wherefore, unless you can declare by the word, that Christ is otherwise present with us than spiritually and sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the omnipotency of God in vain."

The omnipotency pretended in vain.

London:—"Why, wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the sacrament? or do you deny it?"

Philpot:—"I deny not that Christ is really in the sacrament to the receiver thereof according to Christ's institution."

London:—"What mean you by really present?"

What Philpot calleth really.

Philpot:—"I mean by really present, present indeed."

London:—"Is God really present everywhere?"

Philpot:—"He is so."

London:—"How prove you that?"

Philpot:—"The prophet Isaiah saith, 'that God filleth all places:' and 'wheresoever there be two or three gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them'."

London:—"What! his humanity?"

Philpot:—"No, my lord, I mean the deity, according to that you demanded."

Bonner too weak for Philpot.

Riche:—"My lord of London, I pray you, let master doctor Chedsey reason with him, and let us see how he can answer him; for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whose doctrine the queen's majesty and the whole realm doth well allow; therefore hear him."

The lords fall to drinking.

London:—"My lords, I pray you, will it please you to drink? you have talked a great while, and much talk is thirsty. I will leave master doctor and him reasoning together awhile, with your leave, and will come to you by and by again."

He went (as I suppose), to make room for more drink, after the lords had drunken. My lord Riche said to the lords, "I pray you let the poor man drink, for he is thirsty;" and with that he called for a cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank

Lord Riche biddeth Philpot drink.

before them all. God requite it him! for I was athirst indeed. Afterwards Dr Chedsey began in this wise, making a great process, of the which this is the effect:

Chedsey begin-neth to dispute with Philpot.

Chedsey:—"Master Philpot findeth fault with the convocation-house before your lordships, that he hath lain thus long in prison, and that he had there a dozen arguments, whereof he could not be suffered to prosecute one thoroughly, which is not so; for he had leave to say what he could, and was answered to as much as he was able to bring; and when he had nothing else to say, he fell to weeping. I was there present and can testify thereof; albeit there is a book abroad of the report of the disputation to the contrary, in the which there is never a true word. And whereas you require to be satisfied of the sacrament, I will shew you the truth thereof, both by the scriptures, and by the doctors."

Philpot answereth Chedsey.

Philpot:—"It is a shrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any truth, since you have begun with so many[1] untruths, as to say that I was answered whiles I had any thing to say, and that I wept for lack of matter to say, and that the book of the report of the disputation is nothing true. God be praised, there were a good many of noblemen, gentlemen, and worshipful men that heard and saw the doings thereof, which can testify that you here have made an unjust report before these honourable lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of matter, as you slander me; for I thank God, I have more matter than the best of you all shall ever be able to answer, as little learning as I have. But my weeping was, as Christ's was upon Jerusalem, seeing the destruction that should fall upon her; and I, foreseeing then the destruction which you (through violence and unrighteousness which you there declared) would work against the true church of Christ and her faithful members, as this day beareth witness, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I, with infinity more, have felt and shall feel."

Philpot interrupted in his answers.

All these words I did not then speak out, being interrupted by my lord Riche, saying that I should suffer him to proceed out in this matter, and afterwards I should have leisure to answer him in every article. But he promised more than he could perform, as the end did well declare; for he had not the

[1 "Manifest untruths," ed. 1559.]

consent of the spiritualty to his promise, which now rule the roost. God shorten their cruel days for his elect's sake! And therefore I add this, which I had purposed to have spoken, if then I might have been suffered, lest any that perfectly know not the things done in the convocation-house and now laid to my charge, if they should not be answered by me, might reckon Dr Chedsey's sayings to be true. And as concerning the book of the report of the disputations, I wrote the same, and it is true in every argument, by master dean of Rochester, and master Cheyney, archdeacon of Hertford (yet being alive, and within the realm), can testify.

Chedsey:—"You have of scriptures the four evangelists for the probation of Christ's real presence to be in the sacrament after the words of the consecration, with St Paul to the Corinthians; which all say, 'This is my body.' They say not, as you would have me to believe, This is not the body. But specially the sixth of St John proveth the same most manifestly, where Christ promised to give his body, which he performed in his last supper, as it appeareth by these words, 'The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world'."

[Matt. xxvi. 26. Mark xvi. 22. Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 24.]

Chedsey proveth the sacrament by John vi.

Philpot:—"My lord Riche, with your leave, I must needs interrupt him a little, because he speaketh open blasphemy against the death of Christ. For if that promise, brought in by St John, was performed by Christ in his last supper, then needed he not to have died, after he had given the sacrament."

Riche:—"Let master doctor make an end of his arguments, and afterward object to him[2] what you can."

Chedsey:—"You must note that there is twice *dabo* in this saying of St John; and the first is referred to the sacrament of the altar, and the second to the sacrifice upon the cross. And besides these manifest scriptures, there be many ancient doctors proving the same, as Ignatius, Irenæus, and St Cyprian" [whose authority he recited at large, which I do omit because I was not permitted to answer the same].

Riche:—"Now answer, and object to him what you can, and you shall be heard."

Philpot:—"My lord, the chiefest ground whereon he with

[1 St John does not give the words referred to.]

[2 "Object to him *again*," ed. 1559; object against him.]

the rest of his side do ground themselves against us, be these words, 'This is my body,' with a false pretence of the omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular answers of all that he hath alleged, for that your lordships may the better understand me, what I mean, and whereupon I stand, I will first require master doctor to answer me one question. But first of all I do protest to your honours, that I think as reverently of the sacrament as a christian man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, ministered after Christ's institution, to be one of the greatest treasures and comforts that he left us on the earth: and, contrariwise, it is most discomfort and abominable, not being ministered as it ought to be, as it is used now a days. And now to my question, which is this: Whether these words only, 'This is my body,' spoken by a priest over the bread and wine, may make the body and blood of Christ, as you suppose, or no?"

Philpot answereth protestation.

Staggering what he might say, at last Chedsey said, "That these words alone, pronounced by the priest, be sufficient to make the bread and the wine the very body and blood of Christ really."

Philpot:—"That is blasphemy to say, and against all the scriptures and doctors, who affirm that the form and substance in consecration must be observed which Christ used and did institute, as St Cyprian saith, 'In the sacrifice, which is Christ, only Christ is to be followed[2].' And by the law it is forbidden to add or take away from God's word. And St Peter saith, 'If any man speak, let him speak as the word of God.' Wherefore, whosoever saith that these words only, 'This is my body,' do make a presence of Christ, without 'Bless, take, and eat,' which be three as substantial points of the sacrament, as 'This is my body,' he is highly deceived. Therefore St Augustine saith, 'Let the word be joined to the element, and it becometh a sacrament[3].' So that, if the entire words of Christ's institutions

Blasphemy to say that these words only, "This is my body," make a real presence.

[1 Pet. iv. 11.]

These words "Bless, take, and eat," be as substantial points of the sacrament as "This is my body."

[2 Nam si in sacrificio quod Christus obtulit non nisi Christus sequendus est, utique id nos obaudire et facere oportet quod Christus fecit, et quod faciendum esse mandavit, quando ipse in evangelio dicat, 'Si feceritis quod mando vobis, jam non dico vos servos sed amicos.' Cypr. Op. Par. 1726. 'Epist. LXIII. p. 108.]

[3 "Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tanquam visibile verbum." Augustini Op. Par. 1680. Tom. III. col. 703.]

be not observed in the ministration of a sacrament, it is no sacrament; as the sacrifices which the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable, because they were not in all points done according to God's word. Wherefore, except blessing be made after the word (which is a due thanksgiving for our redemption in Christ), and also a shewing forth of the Lord's death in such wise as the congregation may be edified, and moreover a taking and eating after Christ's commandment —except (I say) these three parts be first performed (which is not done in the mass), these words 'This is my body,' which are last placed in the institution of the Lord's supper, cannot be verified[1]. For Christ commanded as well, 'Take ye, eat ye,' as, 'This is my body.'"

Chedsey:—"Christ said, 'Take, eat, this is my body;' and not, 'Take ye, eat ye.'"

Master doctor taken with the manner.

Philpot:—"No did[2], master doctor? Be not these the words of Christ, *Accipite, manducate?* and do not these words in the plural number signify, 'take ye, eat ye;' and not 'take thou, eat thou,' as you would suppose?"

Chedsey:—"I grant it is as you say."

Philpot:—"Likewise of consequency you, master doctor, must needs deny, which you have said, that these words, 'This is my body,' being only spoken, be sufficient to make the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, as you have untruly said."

Then came in the bishop of London again, and said, "What is that you would have master doctor deny?"

Philpot:—"My lord, master doctor hath affirmed that these words, 'This is my body,' spoken by the priest, only[3] do make the sacrament."

The words of Christ "This is my body," except a priest speak them, make no body.

London:—"Indeed, if master Bridges should speak these words over the bread and wine, they would be of none effect: but if a priest speak them after a due manner, they are effectual, and make a real body."

Philpot:—"Master doctor hath said otherwise."

[1 "Except—verified:" thus in the edition of 1559, "As it is not in the mass: This is my body, which is the latter part of the sacrament, hath never no place, neither can be verified."]

[2 No did?—did He not?]

[3 Only: alone, of themselves.]

London:—"I think you mistake him; for he meaneth of the words duly pronounced."

Philpot:—"Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was said; that, 'this is my body,' hath no place, except 'bless, take, and eat,' duly go before. And therefore, because the same words do not go before, 'this is my body,' but preposterously follow[4], in your sacrament of the mass; it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither hath Christ in it present."

Chedsey:—"If, 'this is my body,' only, do not make the sacrament, no more do, 'bless, take, and eat.'"

Philpot:—"I grant that the one without the other cannot make the sacrament. And it can be no sacrament, unless the whole action of Christ doth concur together according to the first institution."

Chedsey:—"Why, then you would not have it to be the body of Christ, unless it be received?"

Philpot:—"No, verily, it is not the very body of Christ to any other, but such as condignly receive the same after his institution." Sacraments without their use be no sacraments.

London:—"Is not a loaf a loaf, being set on the table, though no body eat thereof?"

Philpot:—"It is not like[5], my lord: for a loaf is a loaf before it be set on the table; but so is not the sacrament a perfect sacrament, before it be duly ministered at the table of the Lord."

London:—"I pray you, what is it in the mean while, before it is received?" The sacrament of the Lord's body without receiving is no sacrament.

Philpot:—"It is, my lord, the sign begun of a holy thing, and yet no perfect sacrament until it be received. For in the sacrament there be two things to be considered, the sign, and the thing itself, which is Christ and his whole passion; and it is that to none but to such as worthily receive the holy signs of bread and wine, according to Christ's institution."

Windsor:—"There were never any that denied the words of Christ, as you do. Did not he say, 'This is my body?'"

Philpot:—"My lord, I pray you, be not deceived. We do

[4 The words "but preposterously follow," are not in the edition of 1559.]

[5 It is not like: the cases are not alike.]

not deny the words[1] of Christ: but we say, these words be of none effect, being spoken otherwise than Christ did institute them in his last supper. For an example: Christ biddeth the church 'to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost:' if a priest say these words over the water, and there be no child to be baptized, these words only pronounced do not make baptism. And again, baptism is only baptism to such as be baptized, and to none other standing by."

Chamberlain:—"I pray you, my lord, let me ask him one question. What kind of presence in the sacrament (duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance) do you allow?"

Philpot:—"If any come worthily to receive[2], then do I confess the presence of Christ wholly to be, with all the fruits of his passion, unto the said worthy receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Christ is thereby joined to him and he to Christ."

Chamberlain:—"I am answered."

London:—"My lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His similitude, that he bringeth in, of baptism is nothing like to the sacrament of the altar. For if I should say to sir John Bridges, being with me at supper, and having a fat capon, 'Take, eat, this is a fat capon,' although he eat not thereof, is it not a capon still? And likewise of a piece of beef, or of a cup of wine; if I say, 'Drink, this is a cup of wine,' is it not so, because he drinketh not thereof?"

Philpot:—"My lord, your similitudes be too gross for so high mysteries as we have in hand, as, if I were your equal, I could more plainly declare; and there is much more dissimilitude between common meats and drinks, than there is between baptism and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Like must be compared to like, and spiritual things with spiritual, and not spiritual things with corporal things. And meats and drinks be of their own natures good or evil; and your words, commending or discommending, do but declare what they are. But the sacraments be to be considered according to the word which Christ spake of them; of the which, 'Take ye, and eat ye,' be some of the chief, concur-

[1 Words of Christ: presence of Christ, ed. 1559.]
[2 "If any—receive," omitted in ed. 1559.]

rent to the making of the same, without the which there can be no sacraments. And therefore in Greek the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is called κοινωνία, i. e. communion; and likewise in the gospel Christ commanded, saying, 'Divide it among you.'"

Chedsey:—"St Paul calleth it a communication."

Philpot:—"That doth more expressly shew, that there must be a participation of the sacrament together."

London:—"My lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now."

And with that the lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word unto me, half amazed, in my judgment: God work it to good!

Thus endeth the sixth part of this tragedy: the seventh look for with joy.

THE SEVENTH EXAMINATION. The seventh examination of John Philpot, had the 19th of November, before the bishops of London and Rochester, the Chancellor of Lichfield, Dr Chedsey, and Master Dee, Bachelor of Divinity.

Another calling of Philpot before the bishop.

London:—"Sirrah, come hither. How chance you come no sooner? Is it well done of you to make master chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming."

Philpot:—"My lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors be shut upon me, and I cannot come when I list. But as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately."

London:—"We sent for thee to the intent thou shouldst have come to mass. How say you? would you have come to mass, or no, if the doors had sooner been opened?"

Philpot:—"My lord, that is another manner of question."

London:—"Lo, master chancellor, I told you we should have a froward fellow of him: he will answer directly to nothing. I have had him before both the spiritual lords and

temporal, and thus he fareth still; yet he reckoneth himself better learned than all the realm. Yea, before the temporal lords, the other day, he was so foolish to challenge the best: he would make himself learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed."

Philpot:—"I reckon, I answered your lordship before the lords plain enough."

London:—"Why answerest thou not directly, whether thou wouldst have gone to mass with us, or no, if thou hadst come in time?"

Philpot:—"Mine answer shall be thus; that if your lordship can prove your mass, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a Christian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good will."

London:—"Look, I pray you: the king and the queen, and all the nobility of the realm, do come to mass, and yet he will not. By my faith, thou art too well handled: thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee."

Philpot:—"If to lie in a blind coal-house may be counted good handling, both without fire and candle, then may it be said, I am well handled. Your lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list."

London:—"Thou art a fool, and a very ignorant fool. Master chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they can desire. I let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the leads with a many of prentices, gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty. But I will cut off your resort: and as for the prentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them."

The prisoners charged with that they neither did nor knew of.

Philpot:—"My lord, we have no such resort to us as your lordship imagineth, and there cometh very few unto us. And of prentices I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our coal-house, that I wot of: wherefore your lordship hath mistaken your mark."

London:—"Nay; now you think, because my lord chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more. Yes, I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you do recant."

Philpot:—"My lord, I had not thought that I should have

been alive now, neither so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes."

Chancellor:—"Cast not yourself wilfully away, master Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough."

Philpot:—"My conscience beareth me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God cause me to do as I do: and I were of all other creatures most miserable, if for mine own will only I do lose all the commodities I might have in this life, and afterward be cast to damnation. But I am sure, it is not my will whereon I stand, but God's will, which will not suffer me to be cast away, I am sure." Philpot standeth upon his conscience and the fear of God.

Chancellor:—"You are not so sure, but you may be deceived."

London:—"Well, since thou wilt not be conformable by fair means, I will proceed against thee *ex officio*; and therefore hearken here to such articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make answer to them." Bonner proceedeth ex officio with Philpot.

And with that he read a libel which he had in his hand of divers articles; and when he had done, he bade me answer.

Philpot:—"Your libel, my lord, containeth in sum two special points: the first pretendeth, that I should be of your diocese, and therefore your lordship, upon divers suspects and infamies of heresy going upon me, is moved to proceed against me by your ordinary-office: the which first is not true, for that I am not of your lordship's diocese, as the libel doth pretend. And the second is, that I, being baptized in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith, am gone from them: the which is not so, for I am of that catholic faith and church as I was baptized unto." Two untruths in the bishop's articles.

London:—"What! art thou not of my diocese? Where are ye now, I pray you?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I cannot deny but I am in your coal-house, which is in your diocese, yet I am not of your diocese."

London:—"You were sent hither unto me by the queen's majesty's commissioners, and thou art now in my diocese: wherefore I will proceed against thee as thy ordinary."

Philpot:—"I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my present being now in your diocese is not enough to abridge me of mine own ordinary's jurisdiction, neither Philpot challengeth the privilege of his ordinary's right.

maketh it me willingly[1] subject to your jurisdiction, since it cometh by force, and by such men as had no just authority so to do; no more than a sanctuary man, being by force brought forth of his place of privilege, doth thereby lose his privilege, but always may challenge the same wheresoever he be brought."

Chedsey:—"Hath not the queen's majesty authority, by her commissioners, to remove your body whither she will? and ought you not to obey herein?"

Philpot:—"I grant that the queen's majesty (of her just power) may transpose my body, whither it shall please her grace to command the same. But yet, by your laws, 'spiritual causes be not subject to the temporal power.' As for example: you, master doctor, if the queen's majesty would to appoint two temporal men to be judges over you in certain spiritual matters, might not you allege the privilege of a clerk, and demand competent spiritual judges in your causes?"

London:—"Doth not a man, I pray you, *sortiri forum ratione delicti?*"

Philpot:—"My lord, your rule is true in temporal matters; but in spiritual causes it is not so, which be otherwise privileged."

London:—"What sayest thou then to the second article, and to the other?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I say that I am not bound to answer the second, neither the rest, unless the first be proved."

London:—"Well, suppose the first may be proved, as it will be, what will you say then to the second—that you are not of the same catholic faith, neither of the same church now, as you were baptized in?"

Philpot:—"I am of the same catholic faith, and of the same catholic church, which is of Christ, the pillar and stablishment of truth." [1 Tim. iii. 15.]

London:—"Nay, that you are not."

Philpot:—"Yes, that I am."

London:—"Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than you be now."

[1 "Unwillingly," ed. 1559. The sense in this case will be "my being violently brought hither will not cause me to be of your diocese, so long as I am unwilling to acknowledge you as my ordinary."]

Philpot:—"I was not baptized either into my godfathers' faith or my godmother's, but into the faith and into the church of Christ."

London:—"How know you that?"

Philpot:—"By the word of God, which is the touchstone of faith, and the limits of the church."

London:—"How long hath your church stood, I pray you?"

Philpot:—"Even from the beginning; from Christ and from his apostles, and from their immediate successors."

Chancellor:—"He will prove his church to be before Christ!"

Philpot:—"If I did so, I go not amiss: for there was a church before the coming of Christ, which maketh one catholic church."

Chancellor:—"It is so indeed."

Philpot:—"I will desire no better rule than the same which is oftentimes brought in of your side, to prove both my faith and church catholic; that is, antiquity, universality, and unity."

London:—"Do you not see what a bragging foolish fellow this is? He would seem to be very well seen in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor art thou able to prove thy church? Name him, and thou shalt have him."

Philpot:—"My lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them."

London:—"No, that thou shalt not have. You shall see how he lieth. St Cyprian saith, 'There must be one high priest, to the which the residue must obey[2];' and they will allow no head, neither vicar-general."

Philpot:—"St Cyprian saith not, that there should be a vicar-general over all; for in his book *De Simplicitate Prælatorum*, I am sure he saith the contrary[3]: 'There is but

[2] Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt aut nata sunt schismata quam inde, quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos et ad tempus judex vice Christi cogitatur: cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum sacerdotum collegium quicquam moveret. Cypr. Epist. LV. p. 82. Ed. Par. 1726.]

[3] Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. p. 195. Ed. Par. 1726.]

one bishopric, which is wholly possessed of every bishop in part.'"

London:—"Fetch hither the book: thou shalt see the manifest place against thee."

Doctor Chedsey brought the book, and turned to the place in an epistle written unto Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, and recited these words in sum, "That it went not well with the church, where the high priest was not obeyed[1]," and so would have concluded for the confirmation of the bishop's saying.

The place of St Cyprian explained.

Philpot:—"Master doctor, you misconstrue the place of St Cyprian: for he meaneth not there by 'the high priest' the bishop of Rome, but every patriarch in his precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his time. And in writing unto Cornelius he meaneth by the high priest himself, which was then chief bishop of Africa, whose authority the heretics began to despise: whereof he complaineth to Cornelius, and saith, 'The church cannot be well ordered, where the chief minister by order, after the judgment of the scriptures, after the agreement of the people, and the consent of his fellow-bishops, is not obeyed[2].'"

London:—"Hath not the bishop of Rome always been supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar in earth, even from Peter?"

Philpot:—"No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more authority than the bishop of London hath."

London:—"Was not Peter head of the church? and hath not the bishop of Rome, which is his successor, the same authority?"

Peter had no more authority over the church than every one of the apostles.

Philpot:—"I grant that the bishop of Rome, as he is the successor of Peter, hath the same authority as Peter had. But Peter had no more authority than every one of the apostles had."

[1 See p. 73, note 2.]

[2 Cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum sacerdotum collegium quicquam moveret, nemo post divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum, judicem se jam, non episcopi, sed Dei, faceret: nemo discidio unitatis Christi ecclesiam scinderet, nemo sibi placens ac tumens, seorsum foris hæresim novam conderet.]

Chancellor:—"Yes, that St Peter had; for Christ said specially unto him, 'I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven;' the which he spake to none other of his disciples singularly, but to him." [Matt. xvi. 19.]

Philpot:—"St Augustine answereth otherwise to the objection, and saith, 'That if in Peter there had not been the figure of the church, the Lord had not said to him, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The which if Peter received not, the church hath them not. If the church hath them, then Peter hath them not[3].'" Peter beareth but figure of the church.

London:—"What if I can prove and shew you out of the civil law, that all Christendom ought to follow the holy catholic church of Rome, as there is a special title thereof, *De catholica fide et sancta Romana ecclesia*[4]?" Bonner's divinity lieth much in the civil law.

Philpot:—"That is nothing material, seeing the things of God be not subject to man's laws; and divine matters must be ordered by the word of God, and not of man."

A Doctor:—"What will you say, if I can prove that Christ builded his church upon Peter, and that out of St Cyprian? Will you then believe that the bishop of Rome ought to be supreme head of the church?" Cyprian.

Philpot:—"I know what St Cyprian writeth in that behalf; but he meaneth nothing as you take it."

A Doctor:—"St Cyprian hath these words, 'That upon Peter was builded the church, as upon the first beginning of unity[5].'"

Philpot:—"He declareth that in an example, that unity must be in the church; he grounded on Peter his church alone, and not upon men. The which he doth more manifestly declare in the book *De Simplicitate Prælatorum*, saying, 'In the person of one man, God gave the keys to all, that he, in signification thereby, might declare the unity of all men[6].'" The place of Cyprian expounded.

[3 See p. 44, note 2.]

[4 This, probably, is a reference to the same place in the Decretals which is mentioned p. 34, note 1, although the words "et sancta Romana ecclesia" are not a part of the title.]

[5 Una ecclesia a Christo Domino super Petrum origine unitatis et ratione fundata. Cypr. Epist. LXX. Ed. Par. 1726. p. 125.]

[6 See p. 44, note 1.]

A Doctor:—"What! will you understand St Cyprian so? That were good indeed!"

Philpot:—"I think you cannot understand St Cyprian better, than he doth declare himself."

Bonner goeth to the parliament.

London:—"I will desire you, master chancellor, to take some pains with master doctor Chedsey about his examination; for I must go to the parliament-house. And I will desire you to dine with me."

Then the doctor took again his former authority in hand for want of another, and would have made a further circumstance, digressing from his purpose. To whom I said, he knew not whereabout he went; and therewithal he laughed: and I said, his divinity was nothing but scoffing.

Master doctor slippeth away.

A Doctor:—"Yea, then I have done with you:" and so went away.

Philpot:—"You are too young in divinity to teach me in the matters of my faith. Though you be learned in other things more than I, yet in divinity I have been longer practised than you, for any thing I can hear of you: therefore be not too hasty to judge that you do not perfectly know."

Chancellor:—"Peter and his successors from the beginning have been allowed for the supreme head of the church, and that by the scriptures, for that Christ said unto him in St John thrice, 'Feed my sheep.'"

The words of Christ to Peter, Feed my sheep, 'Pasce oves meas,' expounded by 'Ite, prædicate.' [Mark xvi. 15. John xxi. 15, 16, 17.]

Philpot:—"That is no otherwise to be taken, than 'Go ye and preach,' which was spoken to all the apostles, as well as unto Peter. And that Christ said thrice, 'Feed my sheep,' it signifieth nothing else but the earnest study that the ministers of God ought to have in preaching the word: God grant that you of the clergy would weigh your duty in this behalf more than you do! Is this a just interpretation of the scripture, to take *Pasce oves meas*, for, to be lord of the whole world?"

In this meanwhile came in the bachelor of divinity, which is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the bishop; and he took upon him to help master chancellor.

Scholar:—"What will you say if I can shew you a Greek author, called Theophylact, to interpret it so? Will you believe his interpretation?"

Theophylact of no great authority.

Philpot:—"Theophylact is a late writer, and one that was a favourer of the bishop of Rome, and therefore not to be

credited, since his interpretation is contrary to the manifest words of the scripture, and contrary to the determination of many general councils."

Scholar:—"In what general council was it otherwise, that the bishop of Rome was not supreme head over all?"

Philpot:—"In Nice council I am sure it was otherwise; for Athanasius was there the chief bishop and president of the council, and not the bishop of Rome." Council of Nice.

Scholar:—"Nay, that is not so."

Philpot:—"Then I perceive you are better seen in words, than in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will, it is so; as you may see in the Epitome of the Councils[1]."

Scholar:—"I will fetch Eusebius and shew the contrary, and the book of General Councils."

He went into my lord's closet, and brought Eusebius; but the General Councils he brought not, saying (for saving of his honesty) that he could not come by them. And there he would have defended that it was otherwise in Eusebius, but was not able to shew the same, and so shrank away confounded. The scholar of Oxford shrinketh away.

Chancellor:—"The church of Rome hath been always taken for the whole catholic church; therefore I would advise you to come into the same with us. You see all the men of this realm do condemn you: and why will you be so singular?"

Philpot:—"I have said, and still do say, that if you can be able to prove it unto me, that I will be of the same. But I am sure that the church, which you make so much of, is a The pope's side not able to prove their church to be the holy catholic church.

[1 What is the particular book here referred to, does not certainly appear. It may have been Bartholomæi Carranzæ 'Summa Conciliorum et Pontificum a Petro ad Paulum iii.' Salmanticæ, 1549; the first edition of which work according to Antonio (Biblioth. Hisp. Nova) appeared at Venice in 1546. The evidence of the fact, however, to which Philpot refers, runs throughout the whole of the history of the Council of Nice. The following passage may serve as a sample of such evidence: Αὐτοκράτωρ τοίνυν Ῥωμαίων Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ παραβάτης γένομενος, τοὺς ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίου ἐξορισθέντας ἐπισκόπους προσχήματι συμπαθείας ἀνεκάλεσεν. Ἀθανάσιος οὖν ὁ μακάριος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ συναθροίσας τοὺς ἀφεθέντας ἐπισκόπους ἐκ τῶν ἀλύσεων, συνοδικῶς τὰ ἐν Νικαίᾳ δογματισθέντα ἐκύρωσε, καὶ Ἀρειανικὴν ἀνεθεμάτισεν ἀθεότητα. Concil. Labbei Ed. Lutet. Par. 1671. Tom. II. col. 97.]

false church and a synagogue of Satan. And you with the learned men of this realm do persecute the true church, and condemn such as be more righteous than you."

Chancellor:—"Do you hear, master doctor, what he saith, that the church of Rome is the devil?"

Chedsey:—"I wish you did think more reverently of the church of Rome. What will you say if I can shew you out of St Austin, in his Epistle written unto pope Innocent, that the whole general council of Carthage did allow the church of Rome to be chiefest over all other?"

Philpot:—"I am sure you can shew no such thing."

And with that he fetched the book of St Austin, and turned to the Epistle, but could not prove his allegation manifestly, but by conjectures in this wise:—

The see of Rome, how apostolical, and not apostolical.

Chedsey:—"Here you may see, that the council of Carthage[1], writing to Innocent the bishop, calleth the see of Rome the apostolic see. And besides this, they write to him certifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the Donatists, requiring his approbations in the same; which they would not have done, if they had not taken the church of Rome for the supreme head of others. And moreover you may see, how St Austin doth prove the church of Rome to be the catholic church by continual succession of the bishop until his time, which succession we can prove until our days. Therefore, by the same reason of St Austin we say now, that the church of Rome is the catholic church."

Peter being at Rome giveth no perpetuity to Rome to be head of the church.

Philpot:—"Master doctor, I have considered how you do weigh St Augustine; and, contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your false conclusion. As concerning that it was called by him the apostolical see, that is not material to prove the church of Rome now to be the catholic church. I will grant it now that it is the apostolical see, in respect that Paul and Peter did once there preach the gospel, and abode there for a certain season. I would you could prove it to be

[1 "Hoc itaque gestum, Domine frater, sanctæ caritati tuæ intimandum duximus, ut statutis nostræ mediocritatis etiam Apostolicæ sedis adhibeatur auctoritas, pro tuenda salute multorum, et quorundam perversitate etiam corrigenda." Aurelii et Patrum Conc. Carthag. ad Innocentium Epist. August. Op. Par. Bened. 1679. Tom. I. Ep. CLXXV. col. 618. § 2. Vide etiam Concil. Gen. Labb. Lut. Par. 1671. Tom. II. col. 1534. in Conc. Carth. II.]

the apostolical see, of that true religion and sincerity, as the apostle left it, and did teach the same: the which if ye could do, you might boast of Rome as of the apostolical see: otherwise it is now of no more force, than if the Turk at Antioch and at Jerusalem should boast of the apostolic sees, because the apostles once did there abide, and founded the church of Christ.

"And whereas the whole council of Carthage did write unto pope Innocent, certifying him of that was done in the general council, and willing him to set his helping hand to the suppressing of the Donatists, as they had done; that fact of the council proveth nothing the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, no more than if the whole convocation-house now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain articles, might send the same to some bishop that upon certain impediments is not present, willing him to agree thereto, and to set them forth in his diocese. The which fact doth not make any such bishop of greater authority than the rest, because his consent is brotherly required.

"And touching the succession of the bishops of Rome, brought in by St Augustine, it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the same catholic church, unless you can conclude with the same reason as St Augustine doth. And the rehearsal of the succession of the bishops doth tend to this only, to prove the Donatists to be heretics, because they began, as well at Rome as in Africa, to found another church of their own setting up, than was grounded by Peter and Paul and by their successors, whom he reciteth until his time, which all taught no such doctrine neither such church as the Donatists. And if presently you be able to prove by the succession of bishops of Rome (whereof you do glory), that such doctrine hath not been taught by any of the successors of Peter's see, as is now taught and believed of us, you have good reason against us: otherwise it is of no force, as I am able to declare."

Chancellor:—"Well, master doctor, you see we can do no good in persuading of him. Let us minister the articles which my lord hath left us, unto him. How say you, master Philpot, to these articles? Master Johnson, I pray you write his answers."

Philpot:—"Master chancellor, you have no authority to Philpot refuseth the

chancellor to be his ordinary.

inquire of me my belief in such articles as you go about, for that I am not of my lord of London's diocese; and, to be brief with you, I will make no further answer herein than I have already to the bishop."

Chancellor:—"Why, then, let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away."

Thus endeth the seventh part of this tragedy.

The sum of a private Conference or Talk between Master Philpot and the bishop of London.

The next day, in the morning betimes, the bishop sent one of his men unto me, to call me up into his chapel to hear mass.

Bishop's Man:—"Master Philpot, where be you?"

Philpot:—"Who is it that calleth me?"

Bishop's Man:—"My lord's will is, you should rise and come to hear mass. Will you come or no?"

Philpot:—"My stomach is not very good this morning: you may tell my lord I am sick."

After this the keeper was sent to bring me to my lord.

The Keeper:—"Master Philpot, you must rise and come to my lord."

Philpot:—"I am at your commandment, master keeper, as soon as I can."

And going out of the prison, he asked me, saying:

The Keeper:—"Will ye go to mass?"

Philpot:—"My stomach is too raw to digest such raw meats of flesh, blood, and bone, this morning."

After this my keeper presented me to the bishop in his hall.

London:—"Master Philpot, I charge you to answer unto such articles as my chaplain, master Dee, and my registrar have from me to object against you: go and answer them."

Philpot refuseth to answer but in open judgment.

Philpot:—"My lord, all judgments ought to be public. Therefore, if your lordship have any thing to charge me lawfully withal, let me be in judgment lawfully and openly called, and I will answer according to my duty: otherwise in corners I will not."

London:—"Thou art a foolish knave, I see well enough:

thou shalt answer whether thou wilt or no; go thy ways with them, I say."

Philpot:—"I may well go with them at your lordship's pleasure; but I will make them no further answers than I have said already."

London:—"No! wilt thou not, knave? Have him away, and set him in the stocks: What! foolish knave?" Philpot commanded to the stocks of the coal-house.

Philpot:—"Indeed, my lord, you handle me, with others, like fools: and we must be content to be made fools at your hands; stocks and violence be your bishop-like alms. You go about by force in corners to oppress, and be ashamed that your doings should come to light. God shorten your cruel kingdom for his mercy's sake!"

And I was put by and by into the stocks, in a house alone, separate from my fellows. God be praised that he hath thought me worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake! Better it is to sit in the stocks of this world, than to sit in the stocks of a damnable conscience.

Another conference between Bonner, bishop of London, and Master Philpot and other prisoners.

The next day after, an hour before day, the bishop sent for me again by the keeper. Another day's talk.

The Keeper:—"Master Philpot, arise; you must come to my lord."

Philpot:—"I wonder what my lord meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus early. I fear he will use some violence towards me: wherefore I pray you make him this answer, that if he send for me by an order of law, I will come and answer; otherwise, since I am not of his diocese, neither is he mine ordinary, I will not (without I be violently constrained) come unto him."

Keeper:—"I will go tell my lord what answer you make."

And so he went away to the bishop, and immediately returned with two of the bishop's men, saying that I must come, whether I would or no.

Philpot:—"If by violence any of you will enforce me to go, then I must go: otherwise I will not."

Philpot brought to the bishop by violence.

And therewith one of them took me with force by the arm, and led me up into the bishop's gallery.

London:—"What! thou art a foolish knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fetched."

Philpot:—"I am brought indeed, my lord, by violence unto you; and your cruelty is such, that I am afraid to come before you. I would your lordship would gently proceed against me by the law."

London:—"I am blamed of the lords the bishops, for that I have not despatched thee ere this. And in faith I made suit to my lord cardinal, and to all the convocation-house, that they would hear thee: and my lord of Lincoln stood up, and said that thou wert a frantic fellow, and a man that will have the last word. And they all have much blamed me, because I have brought thee so often before the lords openly: and they say it is meat and drink to you to speak in an open audience, you glory so of yourself. Wherefore, I am commanded to take a further order with thee; and, in good faith, if you will not relent, I will make no further delay. Marry, if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgive thee all that is past, and thou shalt have no hurt for any thing that is already spoken or done."

Philpot, being archdeacon, excommunicated bishop White for preaching false doctrine.

Philpot:—"My lord, I have answered you already in this behalf, what I will do. And as for the report of master White, bishop of Lincoln, I pass not; who is known to be mine enemy, for that I, being archdeacon, did excommunicate him for preaching naughty doctrine. If Christ my master were called a mad man, it is no marvel though ye count me frantic."

London:—"Hadst thou not a pig brought thee the other day with a knife in it? Wherefore was it, I pray thee, but to kill thyself? or, as it is told me (marry, I am counselled to take heed of thee), to kill me? But I fear thee not: I trow I am able to tread thee under my feet: do the best thou canst."

Matter made of a knife sent to Philpot in a pig's belly.

Philpot:—"My lord, I cannot deny but that there was a knife in the pig's belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpose, I know not, unless it were because he that sent the meat, thought I was without a knife, and so put it in: but other things your lordship needeth not to fear: for I was never without a knife since I came into prison. And touching your own person, you should live long, if you should

live until I would go about to kill you: and I confess, by violence your lordship is able to overcome me."

London:—"I charge thee to answer to mine articles. Hold him a book. Thou shalt swear to answer truly to all such articles, as I shall demand of thee." Articles again put to Philpot.

Philpot:—"I will first know your lordship to be mine ordinary, before I swear herein."

London:—"What! we shall have an Anabaptist of thee, which thinketh it not lawful to swear before a judge!"

Philpot:—"My lord, I am no Anabaptist; I think it lawful to swear before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuse to swear in these causes before your lordship because you are not mine ordinary."

London:—"I am thine ordinary, and here do pronounce by sentence peremptory[1], that I am thine ordinary, and that thou art of my diocese." [And here he bade call in more to bear him witness.] "And I make thee" [taking one of his servants by the arm] "to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles:" to the which (when he had read them) he monished me to make answer, and said to the keeper, "Fetch me his fellows, and I shall make them to be witnesses against him." Bonner, of mere power and authority, pronounceth himself to be Philpot's ordinary.

In the mean while came in one of the sheriffs of London, whom the bishop (calling for two chairs) placed by him, saying, "Master sheriff, I would you should understand how I do proceed against this man. Master sheriff, you shall hear what articles this man doth maintain:"—and so he read a rabblement of feigned articles: That I should deny baptism to be necessary to them that were born of christian parents; that I denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds; and I maintained only bare faith to be sufficient to salvation, whatsoever a man did besides; and I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness. False articles feigned against Philpot.

Philpot:—"Hah, my lord! have ye nothing of truth to charge me withal, but ye must be fain to imagine these blasphemous lies against me? You might as well have said I had killed your father. The scriptures say, that "God will destroy all men that speak lies." And is not your lordship ashamed to say before this worshipful gentleman (who is unknown to me),

[1 Sentence *interrogatory*, ed. 1559.]

that I maintain these abominable blasphemies which you have rehearsed? which if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted a heretic, and to be burned a hundred times, if it were possible."

London:—"I do object them unto thee, to hear what thou wilt say in them, and how thou canst purge thyself of them."

Bonner taken with an untruth.

Philpot:—"Then it was not justly said of your lordship in the beginning, that I did maintain them, since almost I hold none of these articles you have read, in form as they are written."

London:—"How sayest thou? Wilt thou answer to them, or no?"

Philpot:—"I will first know you to be mine ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things; and then afterward, being lawfully called in judgment, I will shew my mind fully thereof; and not otherwise."

Other prisoners called in to bear witness against John Philpot.

London:—"Well then, I will make thy fellows to be witnesses herein against thee. Where are they? Come!"

Keeper:—"They be here, my lord."

London:—"Come hither, sirs: hold them a book. You shall swear by the contents of that book, that you shall (all manner of affections laid apart) say the truth of all such articles as you shall be demanded of concerning this man here present, which is a very naughty man. And take you heed of him, that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and strengtheneth you in your errors."

The prisoners refuse to be sworn against Philpot.

Prisoners:—"My lord, we will not swear, except we know whereto: we can accuse him of no evil; we have been but a while acquainted with him."

Philpot:—"I wonder your lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the same, to have infamous persons to be witnesses; for your lordship doth take them to be heretics, and by the law a heretic cannot be a witness."

Bonner again doeth against the law.

London:—"Yes, one heretic against another may be witness well enough. And, master sheriff, I will make one of them to be witness against another."

Philpot:—"You have the law in your own hand, and you will do what you list."

Prisoners:—"No, my lord."

London:—"No! will you not? I will make you swear,

whether you will or no. I ween[1], they be Anabaptists, master sheriff: they think it not lawful to swear before a judge." Note how the bishops make Anabaptists.

Philpot:—"We think it lawful to swear for a man judicially called, as we are not now, but in a blind corner."

London:—"Why then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for yourselves; and I do here in the presence of master sheriff object the same articles unto you as I have done unto him, and do require you, under the pain of excommunication, to answer particularly unto every one of them when ye shall be examined, as ye shall be by and by examined by my registrar and some of my chaplains."

Prisoners:—"My lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay any thing against us, we are here ready to answer thereto: otherwise we pray your lordship not to burden us; for some of us are here before you, we know no just cause why."

London:—"Master sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with these froward men." And so he rose up, and was going away, talking with master sheriff. Bonner seeketh corners.

Philpot:—"Master sheriff, I pray you record how my lord proceedeth against us in corners, without all order of law, having no just cause to lay against us."

And after this [we] were all commanded to be put in the stocks, where I sat from morning until night; and the keeper at night upon favour let me out.

Another private conference between the bishop of London and Master Philpot in the coal-house.

The Sunday after, the bishop came into the coal-house at night with the keeper, and viewed the house, saying that he was never here before: whereby a man may guess how he hath kept God's commandment in visiting the prisoners, seeing he was never with them that have been so nigh his nose. And he came not then for any good zeal, but to view the place, and thought it too good for me; and therefore, after supper, between eight and nine, he sent for me, saying: Bonner viewing his coal-house.

London:—"Sir, I have great displeasure of the queen and

[1 Ween: think, suppose.]

the council for keeping you so long, and letting you have so much liberty. And besides that, you are yonder, and strengthen the other prisoners in their errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough. I will sequester you therefore from them, and you shall hurt no more as you have done; and I will out of hand despatch you, as I am commanded, unless you will be a conformable man."

Philpot:—"My lord, you have my body in your custody: you may transport it whither you please: I am content. And I would you would make as quick expedition in my judgment, as you say; I long therefore; and as for conformity, I am ready to yield to all truth, if any can bring better than I."

London:—"Why, will you believe no man but yourself, whatsoever they say?"

Philpot:—"My belief must not hang upon men's sayings without sure authority of God's word, the which if any can shew me, I will be pliant to the same. Otherwise, I cannot go from my certain faith to that which is uncertain."

London:—"Have you then the truth only?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I will speak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice I bear to you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God; but you persecute both the truth and the true church of God, for the which cause you cannot prosper long. You see, God doth not prosper your doings according to your expectations: he hath of late shewed his just judgment against one of your greatest doers, who by report died miserably[1]. I envy not the authority you are in: you that have learning should know best how to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity and living again, use the same to God's glory, and to the setting forth of his true religion; otherwise it will not continue, do what you can."

Good counsel given to Bonner.

With this saying he was apaused[2], and said at length:

London:—"That good man was punished for such as thou art. Where is the keeper? Come, let him have him to the place that is provided for him: go your way before."

And he followed me, calling the keeper aside, commanding

[1 Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who died about a month before this.]

[2 Apaused: struck.]

to keep all men from me, and narrowly to search me (as the sequel did declare), and brought me to his privy door that goeth into the church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the keeper, and to see me placed. And afterwards I passed through Paul's up to the Lollards' Tower, and after that turned along all the west side of Paul's through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors, came to my lodging through many straits; where I called to remembrance, that 'strait is the way to heaven'. And it is in a tower, right on the other side of Lollards' Tower, as high almost as the battlements of Paul's, eight feet of breadth, and thirteen of length, and almost over the prison where I was before, having a window opening toward the east, by the which I may look over the tops of a great many houses, but see no man passing into them: and whoso walketh in the bishop's outer gallery going to his chapel, may see my window and me standing in the same. And as I was come to my place, the keeper plucked off my gown, and searched me very narrowly, and took away penner[3], inkhorn, girdle, and knife; but (as God would) I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removing, and thereupon made an errand to the stool, where, full sore against my will, I cast away many a sweet letter and friendly: but that I had written of my last examination before, I thrust into my hose, thinking the next day to have made an end thereof, and with going it was fallen down to my leg, the which he by feeling did soon espy, and asked what that was. I said, they were certain letters: and with that he was very busy to have them out. "Let me alone," said I, "I will pluck them out." With that I put in my hand, having two other letters therein, and brought up the same writing to my pocket-hole, and there left it, giving him the other two letters that were not of any great importance; the which, to make a shew that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, till they snatched them from me; and so deluded him (I thank God) of his purpose.

Philpot conveyed into a close tower joining to Paul's church.

[Matth. vii.]

Philpot searched for writings.

The copy of his examinations by God's great working preserved.

After this he went his way; and as he was going, one of them that came with him said, that I did not deliver the writings I had in my hose, but two other letters I had in my hand before. "No did?" quoth he, "I will go search him better:" the which I hearing, conveyed my examination I had

[3 Penner: a case to hold pens.]

written into another place beside my bed, and took all the letters I had in my purse, and was tearing of them when he came again; and as he came, I threw the same out of my window, saying, that I heard what he said: wherefore I did prevent his searching again, whereof I was right glad. God be praised, that gave me that present shift to blind their eyes from the knowledge of my writings; the which if they had known, it would have been a great occasion of more straiter keeping and looking unto, although they look as narrowly as they may.

THE EIGHTH EXAMINATION. The eighth examination of John Philpot, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St David's, Master Mordant, and others, in the bishop's chapel.

The next day after, my keeper came before day in the morning to call me down; and so was I brought down into his wardrobe, where with a keeper I was left, and there continued all the day. But after dinner I was called down into the chapel, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St David's, master Mordant, one of the queen's council, master archdeacon of London, and before a great many more Balaamites. And the bishop spake unto me in this wise:—

Articles objected and read to Philpot.

London:—"Sir, here I object and lay unto you, in the presence of my lord of St David's, and of master Mordant, and of these worshipful men, these articles here in this libel contained."

And openly he read them. To whom when I would particularly have answered to some of his blasphemies, he would not permit me, but said, I should have leisure enough to say what I would, when he had said. "And unto these here I add another schedule. Also I require thee to answer to the catechism set forth in the schismatical time of king Edward. Also I will thee to answer to certain conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here do bring forth these witnesses against thee in thine own presence, namely, my lord of St David's, master Mordant, and master Harpsfield, with as many of you as were present in the disputation he made in the convocation-house; willing you to testify, of your oaths taken upon a book, the stubborn and unreverent behaviour he did

there use against the blessed sacrament of the altar. Give me a book!" And receiving one, he opened the same, saying, "I will teach him here one trick in our law which he knoweth not; that is, my lord of St David's, because you are a bishop, you may swear by looking on the gospel book, without touching of the same." And so he opened the book in his sight, and shut it again, and caused the others to put their hands on the book, and take their oath, and willed them to resort to his registrar to make their depositions when they might be best at leisure. And afterwards he turned to me and said, "Now, sir, you shall answer in two words, whether you will answer to these articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea or nay?"

Witnesses sworn against Philpot.

Philpot:—"My lord, you have told a long tale against me, containing many lying blasphemies, which cannot be answered in two words. Besides this, you promised me at the beginning, that I should say what I could for my defence; and now will you not give me leave to speak? What law is this?"

Papists keep no promise.

London:—"Speak, yea or nay; for you shall say no more at this time."

The cause was, as I guess, that he saw so many there gathered to hear.

Philpot:—"Then my two words you would have me speak shall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my sufficient judge."

Philpot appealeth from Bonner.

London:—"Indeed, master Mordant, he hath appealed to the king and to the queen; but I will be so bold with her majesty, to stay that appeal in mine own hands."

Philpot:—"You will do what you list, my lord, you have the law in your hands."

London:—"Wilt thou answer or no?"

Philpot:—"I will not otherwise than I have said."

London:—"Registrar, note his answer that he maketh."

Philpot:—"Knock me on the head with a hatchet, or set up a stake and burn me out of hand, without further law: as well you may do so, as do that you do; for all is without order of law. Such tyranny was never seen as you use now a days: God of his mercy destroy your cruel kingdom!"

Bonner doth without order of law.

And whilst I spake this, the bishop went away in haste.

St David's:—"Master Philpot, I pray you, be quiet, and have patience with you."

Philpot:—"My lord, I thank God I have patience to bear and abide all your cruel intents against me: notwithstanding I speak this earnestly, being moved thereto justly, to notify your unjust and cruel dealing with men in corners, without all due order of law."

After this, at night, I was conducted again by three or four into the coal-house.

THE NINTH EXAMINATION. The ninth examination of Master Philpot, before the bishop of London, and his chaplains.

In the morning, the next day, I was called down betimes by my keeper, and brought again into the wardrobe, where I remained until the bishop had heard his mass; and afterward he sent up for me into his inward parlour, and there he called for a chair to sit down, and brought his infamous libel of his forged articles in his hand, and sat down, willing me to draw near unto him, and said.

London:—"I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the parliament house, to examine you and your fellows upon these articles; and you stand dallying with me, and will neither answer to nor fro. I wis[1], all your exceptions will not serve you. Will it not be a fair honesty for you, think ye, that when thou comest before my lord mayor and the sheriffs, and other worshipful audience, when I shall say before them all, that I have had thee these many times before me, and before so many learned men, and then thou couldst say nothing for that thou standest in, for all thy brags of learning, neither wouldst answer directly to any thing?"

Philpot still standeth to his former plea to answer before his own ordinary.

Philpot:—"My lord, I have told you my mind plain enough; but yet I do not intend to lose that privilege the law giveth me, the which is, free choice to answer where I am not bound; and this privilege will I cleave unto, until I be compelled otherwise."

London:—"Well, I perceive you will play the obstinate fool: Lay thine appellation when thou comest in judgment, and answer in the mean while to these articles."

[1 Wis: think, am sure. Ed.]

Philpot:—"No, my lord, by your leave I will not answer to them, until my lawful appeal be tried."

London:—"Well, thou shalt hear them."

Philpot will not hear his articles read.

And with that he began to read them. I shrank back into the window, and looked on a book. And after he had read them over, he said unto me,

London:—"I have read them over, although it hath not pleased you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what thou meanest, to be so wilful and stubborn, seeing thou mayest do well enough if thou list. It is but a singularity. Dost thou not see all the realm against thee?"

Philpot:—"My lord, I speak unto you in the witness of God, before whom I stand, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither stand upon mine own stubbornness or singularity, but upon my conscience instructed by God's word; and if your lordship can shew better evidence than I have for a good faith, I will follow the same."

London:—"What! thou wilt not, lo, for all that! Well, all that is past shall be forgotten; and be thou conformable unto us. I wis, thou mightest find as much favour as thou wouldest desire."

Then I, perceiving that he fawned so much upon me, thought it good to give him some comfort of my relenting, to the intent I might give him and his hypocritical generation openly a further foil, perceiving that they dare reason openly with none, but with such as be unlearned, and for lack of knowledge not able to answer, or else with such as they have a hope that for fear or love of the world will recant: I said, "My lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly, in the audience of a great number, stood to the maintenance of these opinions I am in, and by learning did offer to defend them: therefore, my lord, I would it might openly appear to the world that I am won by learning; or else what will they say, but that either for fear or love of the world I am without any ground turned from the truth? And if I hear any kind of learning openly shewed, I shall be as conformable as you may require me."

London:—"Yea, marry, now ye speak somewhat like a reasonable man. I wis, you might have had a great deal more favour in my house, and liberty, than you have had; and you

shall lack nothing that is within my house: call for it, and you shall have it. And what is it that you would openly by learning somewhat be satisfied in? tell me."

Philpot:—"My lord, I have openly said, and do believe it also, that your sacrifice of the mass is no sacrament."

London:—"What! do you deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament?"

Talk of the sacrament.

Philpot:—"No, my lord, I deny not the presence of Christ in the sacrament, but I have denied the sacrament of the altar, as it is used in your mass, to be the true sacrament of Christ's institution: and first, it must be proved a sacrament, before there can be any presence granted."

London:—"Why, do you deny the mass to be a sacrament? Is it not a sign of a holy thing, as St Austin doth define it?"

Philpot:—"Yes, verily, that it is."

London:—"Then I make this argument unto you: a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing: but the mass is the sign of a holy thing; ergo, it is a sacrament."

Philpot:—"You must add this to your major, or first proposition, as St Augustine doth mean, that a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing instituted of God and commanded: for otherwise it can be no sacrament; for all men cannot make a sacrament."

London:—"I grant that: and such a sign of a holy thing is the mass of Christ's institution."

Philpot:—"I deny that, my lord."

The bishop, being brought to a narrow strait, is fain to call for more help.

London:—"I will prove this by St Augustine by and by. I will go shew you the book, and you shall have any book I have, that you will demand. Ho! who is without there? Call me master doctor Chedsey, master archdeacon, master Cosins, and other chaplains hither."

"Here, my lord. Master doctor Chedsey is gone to Westminster, and master archdeacon was here even now."

London:—"Master Cosins, I pray you, examine him upon these articles, and write his answer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his fellows, and send you St Augustine by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before."

Cosins:—"I trust, my lord, you shall find him at length a

good catholic man. Marry, here be a sight of heresies! I dare say you will hold none of them, nor stand in any of them. How say you to the first?"

Philpot:—"Master Cosins, I have told my lord already, that I will answer to none of these articles he hath objected against me: but if you will with learning answer to that which is in question between my lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you."

Cosins:—"No! will you? Why, what is that then, that is in question between my lord and you?"

Philpot:—"Whether your mass be a sacrament, or no."

Whether the mass be a sacrament.

Cosins:—"What! the mass to be a sacrament? who ever doubted thereof?"

Philpot:—"If it be an undoubted truth, you may the sooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof."

Cosins:—"Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing: ergo, it is a sacrament."

Philpot:—"I deny your antecedent."

Cosins:—"What! will you so? then there is no reasoning with you."

Master Cosins giveth over in the plain field.

Thus master Cosins gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow-mass chaplain began to speak for his occupation; and with that master Harpsfield came out from my lord with St Augustine's Epistles, saying,

Harpsfield:—"My lord hath sent you here St Augustine to look upon; and I pray you, look what he saith in a certain epistle which he writeth: I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the mass, and how it reproveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the same on the Sabbath and holy-days."

Philpot:—"I perceive the contents of this epistle, and I see nothing herein against me, neither any thing that maketh for the proof of your sacrament of the mass."

Harpsfield:—"No! doth he not make mention of the mass, and the celebration thereof? what can be spoken more plain?"

The Epistle of St Augustine alleged for confirmation of the mass, answered.

Philpot:—"St Austin meaneth of the celebration of the communion, and of the true use of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and not of your private mass, which you of late years have erected in the stead thereof; for this word

'mass' hath been an old term attributed to the communion even from the primitive church[1]. And I pray you, tell me what *missa* doth signify. I think, not many that say mass can well tell."

Cosins:—"No! cannot? That is marvel."

Philpot:—"Then tell me, if you can."

But master Cosins and my morrow-mass chaplain were both dumb, looking upon master Harpsfield for help; and at length he spake:

Harpsfield:—"You think it cometh of the Hebrew word 'massah,' as though none were seen in the Hebrew but you."

The word *missa*.

Philpot:—"I have not gone so long to school, to derive the signification of *missa*, which is a Latin word, out of Hebrew: but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew. I take the communion to be called *missa* 'a mittendo', of such things as at the celebration of the communion were sent by such as were of ability to the relief of the poor; where the rich brought after their devotion and ability, and required the minister, in the celebration of the communion, to pray unto God for them, and to accept their common alms, which they at such times did send for the help of their poor brethren and sisters; and for this cause was it called *missa*, as learned men do witness. At the which celebration of the mass, all that were present did communicate under both kinds according to Christ's institution, as they did in Augustine's time. But unless you can shew that your mass is used as then it was, ye shall never by the name of mass (which St Augustine attributed to the true use of the communion) prove your private mass to be a sacra-

[1 There is a general remark, well worthy of notice, made by both Romish and Protestant writers, on the modern use of ancient words:

"Bona (the Cardinal) fassus est multa vocabula, nobis et priscis patribus communia, nos retinere, sed sensu ab eo, quem tunc habebant, non minus alieno, quam nostra tempora a primis post Christum sæculis remota sunt." Fechtius de Missarum superstitione, cap. IV. § 26, who observes in another part: "Non quæritur, quem quisque, dum ait templa martyribus constitui, vel sacrificia martyribus afferi, sensum animo concipiat, suæque locutioni inesse velit; sed quem sensum ex communi usu et naturali verborum dispositione verba ipsa obtineant." Cap. II. § 11.]

ment, unless ye can prove the same now to be in your masses as was then; which is clean contrary."

Harpsfield:—"What! deny you the mass to be a sacrament? for shame, speak it not."

Philpot:—"I will not be ashamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it."

Harpsfield:—"Why, it is a sacrifice, which is more than a sacrament."

Philpot:—"You may make of it as much as you list: but you shall never make it a sacrifice, as you may imagine thereof, but first it must be a sacrament; for of the sacrament you deduce your sacrifice."

Harpsfield:—"Why, doth not Christ say, 'This is my body?' and doth not the priest pronounce the same that Christ did?"

Philpot:—"The pronunciation only is not enough, unless the words be therewithal applied to the use, as Christ spake them to. For though ye speak the words of baptism over water never so many times, yet there is no baptism unless there be a christian person to be baptized." A sacrament is no sacrament without its use.

Harpsfield:—"Nay, that is not like[2]; for *Hoc est corpus meum*, is an indicative proposition, shewing a working of God in the substance of bread and wine."

Philpot:—"It is not only an indicative proposition, but also imperative or commanding. For he that said, 'This is my body,' said also, 'Take ye, eat ye.' And except the former part of the institution of Christ's sacrament be accomplished according to the communion, the latter, 'This is my body,' can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will."

Morrow-mass Chaplain:—"Why then, you will make the sacrament to stand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a sacrament."

Philpot:—"I do not say, that the receiving only maketh it a sacrament; but I say, that a common receiving must needs be concurrent with the true sacrament, as a necessary member, without the which it cannot be a sacrament; because Christ hath made this a principal part of the sacrament, 'Take ye, eat ye,' which you do not in your mass according to Christ's Receiving maketh not the sacrament, yet the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, without it be received, is no sacrament.

[2 That is not like: the one case is not like the other.]

institution. Wherefore it can be no sacrament, for that it wanteth of Christ's institution."

Cosins:—"We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as list may be partakers with us at the mass, if they require it."

Philpot:—"Nay, that they shall not, though they require it; you will minister but one kind unto them, which is not after Christ's institution. Besides that, you ought, before you go to mass, to exhort all that be present, to make a sacrifice of thanksgiving for Christ's passion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Christ's commandment, saying unto all that be present, 'Take ye, eat ye;' and likewise by preaching shew forth the Lord's death, which you do not."

What the priests ought to do at their mass.

Cosins:—"What if all things be done, even as you would have it; and whilst the minister is about to minister the sacrament, before any have received it, there rise a certain hurly-burly, that the communicants be compelled to go away: is it not a sacrament for all that[1] none have communicated beside the priest?"

Philpot:—"In this case, where all things are appointed to be done according to God's word, if incident necessity had not let, I cannot say but it is a sacrament, and that he which hath received, hath received the true sacrament."

After this the morrow-mass priest made this apish reason:

The Morrow-mass Priest:—"If the sacrament of the mass be no sacrament, unless all do receive it, because Christ said, 'Take ye, eat ye;' then the sacrament of baptism is no sacrament where there is but one baptized, because Christ said to his apostles, 'Go, preach the gospel to all creatures, baptizing all nations in the name of the Father,' &c."

The sacrament of baptism may be ministered unto any person.

Philpot:—"In that saying of Christ, 'baptizing all nations,' is a commandment to the apostles to baptize all sorts of men, and to exclude none that believe, be he Gentile or Jew; not meaning all at once, for that were impossible. And there are many examples that baptism may be singularly ministered to one person, as we have example in Christ baptized of John, and in the eunuch baptized of Philip, with many more such like: but so have you not of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; but contrariwise, by the express

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper requireth a communion.

[1] For all that: although, notwithstanding.]

words of St Paul, you are commanded to use it in a communion and participation of many together, 'As oft as ye come together to eat (meaning the Lord's Supper), tarry one for another.' And also the minister, in the celebration of the sacrament, speaketh unto all that be present in Christ's behalf, to communicate with him, saying, 'Take ye, and eat ye.' Wherefore, as many as be present and do not communicate, break God's commandment in not receiving the same. And the minister is no just minister that doth not distribute the sacrament, as Christ did, to all that are present; and where God's word is transgressed, there is not Christ present, and consequently it is no sacrament."

Harpsfield:—"What! would you have it no sacrament without it be a communion?" At the ministration of the Supper all that be present ought to communicate.

Philpot:—"I make it not so, but God's express word teacheth me so, yea, also all the ancient writers; as St Chrysostom, writing upon the epistle to the Ephesians, saith, 'that the oblation is in vain, where none doth communicate with the priest[2].' If by his judgment the action of the priest alone is in vain, where is no communion, how can that be a sacrament, which he calleth a vain oblation and a vain standing at the altar?" It is no sacrament without it be a communion.

Cosins:—"You are such another fellow as I have not heard[3], that will not have the mass to be a sacrament: you are no man for me to reason withal. Come, let us go [pointing to the morrow-mass chaplain]: we will leave you, master archdeacon, and him together."

And so they went away. Afterward the archdeacon fell into earnest persuasions with me, saying:

Harpsfield:—"Master Philpot, you and I have been of old acquaintance a long time. We were school-fellows both in Winchester and in Oxford many years: wherefore I must wish you as well to do as myself, and I pray you so think of me." Talk between Philpot and Harpsfield.

Philpot:—"I thank you for your good will towards me.

[1 Ὦ τῆς συνηθείας, ὦ τῆς προλήψεως, εἰκῇ θυσία καθημερινή, εἰκῇ παρεστήκαμεν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, οὐδεὶς ὁ μετέχων. Chrysost. in Ep. ad Eph. Cap. I. Homil. III. Bened. Par. 1734. Tom. XI. p. 22.]

[2 You are such, &c.: You are such an one, that I never heard of another your fellow.]

But if you be deceived (as I am sure you are), I shall desire you not to wish me deceived with you: for afore God I tell you plainly, you are highly deceived, and maintain false religion, and be not those men you take yourselves for; and if you do not repent, and leave off your persecuting of Christ's truth, you will go to the devil for it. Therefore consider it in time: I give you warning: or else in the day of judgment I shall be a witness against you, that I told you this, here talking together."

Harpsfield:—"Fie! that is but your own vain singular opinion. I perceive you are now still that man you were in Oxford."

Philpot:—"I trust you can report no notorious evil that ever you knew by me there[1]."

Harpsfield:—"I can say no evil of your conversation, but I knew you to be a studious man. Marry, if you remember, when we met in disputation *in parvis*[2], you would not lightly give over; and for that cause I speak what I have said."

Philpot:—"Master Harpsfield, you know in the schools of Oxford, when we were young men, we did strive much upon vain glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth; but now our years and our riper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which must be our portion for ever. And if I was then, in my time of ignorance, earnest in my own cause, I ought now to be earnest in my master Christ's cause and his truth. I know now that nothing done upon vain glory and singularity can please God, have it never so godly a shew: wherefore I pray you, judge not so of me now."

Harpsfield:—"What! will you think yourself better learned than all the learned men in this realm?"

Philpot:—"My faith hangeth not upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned of God's word."

Harpsfield:—"Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your heart."

Philpot:—"I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will than we have done in past times."

[1 You knew by me: you knew me to be guilty of. "I know nothing by myself:" Οὐδὲν ἐμαυτῷ σύνοιδα. 1 Cor. iv. 4.]

[2 In parvis: in parviso: probably some prolusion, or disputation in the schools.]

Harpsfield:—"Ho! keeper, take him away with you."

Philpot:—"I pray you, master Harpsfield, tell me what this pronoun *hoc* doth demonstrate and shew, in this indicative proposition, as you call it, *Hoc est corpus meum*, this is my body?" What this pronoun 'hoc' doth demonstrate.

Harpsfield:—"It doth demonstrate the substance of bread, which by the words spoken by the priest, and by the omnipotency of God, is turned into the substance of Christ's very body."

Philpot:—"Is the substance of the bread, as you say, turned into Christ's body?"

Harpsfield:—"Yea, that it is."

Philpot:—"Why, then Christ's body receiveth daily a great increase of many thousand pieces of bread into his body, and that is his body become now, which was not before; and by this you would seem to make, that there is an alteration in Christ's glorified body, which is a wicked thing to think."

Then Harpsfield fetched about again; and remembering better himself, and seeing the inconvenience of his first assertion of the transubstantiation of bread into Christ's body, he said, that the substance of bread, after the words spoken by the priest, was evacuated, or vanished away, by the omnipotency of God. Harpsfield in a double tale.

Philpot:—"This is another song than you sang first; and here you may see how contrary you are to yourselves: for indeed your schoolmen do hold, that the very substance of bread is really turned into the substance of Christ's body. And now you perceiving of late the inconvenience which is objected against you in that opinion, you are driven to imagine a new shift, and say, the substance of bread is evacuated; contrary to that your church hath first believed and taught. Oh, what contrariety is there among you, and all to deface the sincere truth!" Contrariety in popish doctrine. Pretence of God's omnipotence.

Harpsfield:—"Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he do as he hath said?"

Philpot:—"But his omnipotence will not do as you say, contrary to his word and to his honour. It is not God's honour to include him bodily into a piece of bread, and of necessity to tie him thereto. It is not God's honour for you to make a piece of bread God and man, which you see before your face

doth putrify after a certain time. Is not God's omnipotency as able to give his body with the sacramental bread, as to make so many turnings-away of the bread, as you do, and that directly against the scripture, which calleth it 'bread' many times after the consecration? Are you not ashamed to make so many alterations of the Lord's holy institution as you do, and to take away the substantial parts of the sacrament, as, 'Take ye, eat ye, Drink ye all of this; Do ye this in remembrance of me;' and to place in their steads, 'Hear ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worship ye, offer ye, sacrifice ye for the quick and the dead?' If this be not blasphemy to God and his sacraments, to add and to pluck away in this sort, and that contrary to the mind of all ancient writers, and contrary to the example of Christ and all his apostles, tell me."

The substantial parts of the sacrament taken away by the papists.

Harpsfield:—"I know you have gathered the sayings of the doctors together, which make for your purpose: I will talk no longer with you."

Harpsfield giveth over for lack of good matter.

Philpot:—"I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will than we have done in times past."

Harpsfield:—"Ho! keeper, take him away with you[1]."

THE TENTH EXAMINATION. The tenth examination of John Philpot, before the bishop of London, his registrar, and others.

The next day after dinner I was brought into my lord's upper hall, and there he called me before him and his registrar, and before Dr Chedsey, in the presence of two homely gentlemen, and a priest which I knew not: at what time the bishop said,

London:—"I do here lay unto this man in your presence (requiring you to be a witness against him, as much as you know in any of them) these articles, this book of the catechism made in king Edward's days, also these conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. Also I lay unto him that he hath despised the censures of the church, and hath

[1] The two concluding sentences of Philpot and Harpsfield are not found in the edition of 1559.]

stood accursed more than this twelvemonth, and never required absolution thereof. How say you? wast thou not accursed by my lord chancellor?"

Philpot:—"I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any just cause, and without order of law, being never personally cited." Philpot accursed by Gardiner without order of law.

London:—"Didst thou not tell me the other day, when I required thee to come to the mass, that thou wast excommunicated, and therefore by the law couldst not hear mass? How long hast thou been thus excommunicated?"

Philpot:—"More than a twelvemonth and a half."

London:—"Lo, you may hear what he saith: write it."

Philpot:—"But as you would have written, that I have said I have been thus long excommunicated; so also let him write, that I did require of my lord chancellor, that did excommunicate me, my absolution, but he would not give it me, saying, that I was *excommunicatus ipso jure*, because I was a heretic, as it pleased him to call me; therefore accursed by your law: and so commanded me to prison, where I remain." Philpot required absolution of Winchester, and was denied.

Gentleman:—"Why do you not require absolution at my lord's hands here now?"

Philpot:—"Because he is not mine ordinary, neither hath by the law any thing to do with me of right."

London:—"What an obstinate fool is this! I tell thee, I will be thine ordinary, whether thou wilt or no."

Philpot:—"And because of this your unrighteous force towards me, I have appealed from you, and require you, master registrar, that my appeal may be entered in writing." Philpot appealeth from Bonner again.

London:—"Have you heard such a froward fellow as this? he seemed yesterday to be very tractable, and I had a good hope of him. I tell thee, thou art of my diocese."

Philpot:—"I am of Winchester diocese, and not of London diocese."

London:—"I pray you, may not a man be of two dioceses at once?"

Philpot:—"No, that he cannot."

London:—"Lo, will you see what an ignorant fool this is in the law, in the which he would seem to be seen? I tell thee, a man may be of three dioceses at once: as if thou wert born in London, by reason thereof thou shouldst be of my diocese; or How one may be of three dioceses at once.

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else if thou wert not born here, but hadst a dignity, also thou art to be counted of my diocese; or else by reason of thy habitation in my diocese."

Philpot:—"In none of these respects I am of your lordship's diocese; but for all that, this will not follow, that I, dwelling at Winchester, am at that present of London diocese."

London:—"What wilt thou lay thereof? wilt thou recant, if I prove it?"

Philpot:—"But what shall I win, if you do not?"

London:—"I will give thee my bishopric, if I prove it not."

Philpot:—"Yea, but who shall deliver it me, if I win?"

London:—"Thou art an arrogant fool. Enter their oaths, and take these witnesses' depositions. I must be gone to the parliament-house."

After this spake unto me a priest standing by, asking me whether I was kin to my lord Riche, or no?

Philpot:—I said, "He said so himself to me the other day; but how, I know not."

Chedsey:—"I heard him say he was his nigh kinsman."

His Balaamite kinsman.

Balaamite:—"Why, then you and I must be of kin, for he is my nigh kinsman. How chanceth it that you and I be of contrary judgments?"

Philpot:—"It is no marvel; for Christ prophesied, 'that the father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father, for my truth's sake.'"

Balaamite:—"You do hold (as I understand) against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and against the holy mass."

Philpot:—"If you can prove it a sacrament, I will not hold against you."

Scripture handsomely applied. [1 Cor. ii. 9.]

Balaamite:—"What, prove it a sacrament, quoth he! Doth not St Paul say, 'That such things as the eye hath not seen, neither ear heard, hath God prepared for them that love him?'"

Philpot:—"That saying of St Paul concerneth nothing your sacrament; but is meant of the heavenly joys that be prepared for all faithful believers."

Balaamite:—"Why, then I perceive you understand not St Paul. By God, you are deceived."

Philpot:—"You ought not to swear, kinsman, if you will

that I shall so call you; and without disworship of our kindred[1], I understand St Paul as well as you, and know what I say." [And with that shewed him a Greek Testament with Erasmus's translation, and with the old also, demanding him which text he was best acquainted withal.]

Balaamite:—"I knew Greek too once, as well as you: I care not which you read."

Philpot:—"You know them then all alike; you understand the one as well as the other."

With this my Balaamite kinsman departed in a fury.

The next day's talk with the bishops.

The next day after I was brought down again, after dinner, to the chapel; and there my Balaamite kinsman (to verify the scriptures, that a man's own kinsfolks shall be his enemies) came in with the bishop as a witness against me: and there the bishop caused another that came to him about other matters, to swear also to be a witness against me, which was a priest also; saying, "You shall swear to depose all the truth of certain articles you shall be inquired of concerning this man; and here I (according to the law) do bring them forth in thy presence."

Witness again sworn against Philpot.

Philpot appealeth again from the bishop.

Philpot:—"My lord, I do not agree to the production of them, but do appeal from all these and other your proceedings against me; and require you, master registrar, that my appeal may be entered, and I will give you for your labour."

Registrar:—"Your appeal shall be entered at leisure. Whom do you appeal unto? tell me."

Philpot:—"I appeal to a higher judge, as to the lieutenant of the archbishopric of Canterbury; for I know not who is bishop thereof at this present."

With that the bishop went away, and my Balaamite kinsman, looking big upon me, but said never a word.

Thus have I in haste scribbled out all mine examinations hitherto, that the same which hath been done unto me in dark, might come to light, and that the papists' unjust proceedings and nakedness in their false religion might be known to their confusion. Jesus is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. Amen. 1555.

[1] Disworship of our kindred: disrespect to our relationship.]

THE ELEVENTH EXAMINATION.

The eleventh examination of John Philpot, had on St Andrew's Day, before the bishop of Durham, the bishop of Chichester, the bishop of Bath, the bishop of London, the prolocutor, Master Christopherson, and Dr Chedsey, Master Morgan of Oxford, Master Hussey of the Arches, Dr Weston, Dr Harpsfield, Archdeacon, Master Cosins, and Master Johnson, registrar to the bishop of London, in his palace.

Yet another examination of John Philpot before bishops and doctors.

I was coming, being sent for, with my keeper; and the bishop of London met me in his hall-door, and full mannerly he played the gentleman-usher to bring me before the lords, saying, "My lords, I shall desire you to take some pains with this man: he is a gentleman, and I would he should do well; but he will wilfully cast away himself."

Durham:—"Come hither, sir: what is your name?"

Philpot:—"My name is Philpot."

Durham:—"I have heard of that name to be a worshipful stock; and since you be a gentleman, do as you may live worshipfully among other gentlemen. What is the cause of your trouble now?"

I told him the cause, as in my former examination is expressed.

Durham:—"Well, all causes set apart, will you now be a conformable man to the catholic faith, and leave all new fangled opinions and heresies? I wis, I was in Germany with Luther at the beginning of these opinions, and can tell how they began. Leave them, and follow the catholic church throughout the whole world, as the whole realm now doth."

Philpot:—"My lord, I am in the catholic faith, and desire to live and die in the same. But it is not unknown to your lordship, that I with others these twenty years have been taught another manner of faith than you now go about to compel us unto: wherefore it is requisite that we have a time to weigh the same, and to hear how it agreeth with God's word; for faith is at a sudden neither won, neither removed, but, as St [Rom. x. 17.] Paul saith, 'Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word.'"

Papists will have faith to be compelled.

Chichester:—"And if you give me leave, my lord, I will shew him how he taketh the saying of St Paul amiss, as many

others now a days alleging the same do, that they ought not to be compelled to believe: whereas St Paul meaneth of infidels, and not of the faithful. And so St Augustine, writing against the Donatists, saith, that the faithful may be compelled to believe[1]."

Philpot:—"St Bernard (if it please your lordship) doth take that sense of St Paul as I do, saying, that faith must be persuaded to a man, and not enjoined[2]. And St Augustine speaketh of such as were first thoroughly persuaded by manifest scriptures, and yet would resist of stubborn wilfulness." Faith ought not to be compelled.

Chichester:—"So Bernard meaneth of infidels also."

Philpot:—"No, my lord, that he doth not; for he writeth not of the infidels, but he writeth of such as were deceived by errors."

Chichester:—"My lord of Durham, I have been so bold to interrupt your lordship of your tale: I pray you now proceed on."

Durham:—"Master Philpot, will you be of the same catholic faith and church with us [which] you were baptized in, and your godfathers promised for you, and hold as we do? and then may you be rid out of trouble. I perceive you are learned, and it is a pity but you should do well."

Philpot:—"I am of the same catholic faith and catholic church I was baptized unto, and in that will I live and die." Philpot of what faith.

Durham:—"That is well said: if you hold there, you cannot do but well."

Chichester:—"Yea, my lord, but he meaneth otherwise than you do. Are you of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers were, or no?" No man bound to be of the faith of his godfathers in every respect.

Philpot:—"I cannot tell what faith they were of certainly, but I am of the faith I was baptized unto, which is, the faith of Christ: for I was not baptized in the faith of my godfathers, but in the faith of Christ."

[1 Quod autem vobis videtur, invitos ad veritatem non esse cogendos, erratis nescientes scripturas neque virtutem Dei, qui eos volentes facit dum coguntur inviti. Augustini cont. Gaudent. Donatist. Lib. I. cap. XXV. Tom. IX. col. 649. Par. Bened. 1694.]

[2 Approbamus zelum, sed factum non suademus; quia fides suadenda est, non imponenda. Bernardi Abbatis Op. Par. 1690. In Cantica Serm. LXVI. Tom. I. col. 1499. § 12.]

Chichester:—"St Augustine saith, that infants are baptized in the faith of their godfathers[1]."

St Augustine.

Philpot:—"St Augustine, in so saying, meaneth of the faith of Christ, which the godfathers do or ought to believe; and not otherwise."

Durham:—"How say you, will you believe as we do, and all the learned of the realm, or no; and be of one church with us?"

Philpot:—"My lords, it is not unknown to you, that there have been always two churches."

Chichester:—"Nay, that is not so: there is but one catholic church."

The true church and the false church ever joined together. The true and false church declared first in Abel and Cain.

Philpot:—"I shall desire your lordships to hear out my tale, and to take my meaning: for I know there is but one true church; but always from the beginning there hath been joined to the same true church a false church, adversary to the true; and that was declared at the first in Abel and Cain, who persecuted and slew his brother, in whom (as St Augustine witnesseth) is represented the false and true church[2]. And after that, as soon as God had chosen his peculiar people, and shewed unto them his sanctuary, holy statutes, and will, anon

[1 "In fide susceptorum." The reference of the Bishop of Chichester will be found to be *substantially* correct, upon an examination of several of the works of Augustine, where he treats of the baptism of infants. The following may suffice as samples. "Qui crediderit, inquit, et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Cujus mysterium credulitatis in parvulis, per eorum responsionem a quibus gestantur, impletur." Augustini De animâ et ejus origine, Lib. II. Tom. x. col. 367. Par. 1696.

Quid de parvulis pueris, si ex Adam ægroti? Nam et ipsi portantur ad ecclesiam: et si pedibus illuc currere non possunt, alienis pedibus currunt, ut sanentur. Accommodat illis mater ecclesia aliorum pedes ut veniant, aliorum cor ut credant, aliorum linguam ut fateantur: ut quoniam quod ægri sunt alio peccante prægravantur, sic cum hi sani sunt, alio pro eis confitente, salventur. August. de verbis Apostoli, I. Tim. vi. Serm. clxxvii. Tom. v. col. 839. §. 2. Par. Bened. 1683.]

[2 Hunc secutus Abel, quem major frater occidit, præfigurationis quâdam peregrinantis Civitatis Dei, quod ab impiis et quodam modo terrigenis, id est terrenam originem diligentibus, et terrenæ Civitatis terrenâ felicitate gaudentibus, persecutiones iniquas passura fuerat, primus ostendit. Aug. De Civit. Dei, Lib. xv. Tom. VII. col. 396. Op. Bened. Par. 1685.]

after rose the false church, and ten of the twelve tribes of Israel divided themselves from the true church of Judah and Benjamin, and made to themselves at Bethel and set up golden calves; and yet pretended therewith to serve God, and so abused his word. Notwithstanding God was displeased with them, and ceased not his wrath, until he had utterly destroyed them."

Chichester:—"I will grant you, before the coming of Christ there were two churches in the old law; but in the new law, since Christ's coming, you cannot shew it to be so by the scripture." Dr Day driven to a strait.

Philpot:—"Yes, my lord, that I can, if you will give me leave. After Christ had chosen his twelve apostles, was there not a Judas in the new law, and a Simon Magus? and were not they of the false church?"

Chichester:—"Yea, but I mean after the gospel was written: where can you find me two churches, after Christ had ascended, and sent the Holy Ghost?"

Philpot:—"The gospel was, within eight years after the ascension, written by St Matthew; and the writing thereof is not material to the declaration of these two churches to have been always from time to time, as by example it may be shewed; and yet, as evil as my memory is, I remember in the New Testament is mention made of two churches, as it appeareth in the Apocalypse; and also St Paul to the Thessalonians maketh mention that antichrist, with his false generation, shall sit in the temple of God." [Rev. ii. 9. 2 Thess. ii. 4.]

To the which Chichester replied not.

Durham:—"The church in the scripture is likened to a great fisher's net, which containeth in it both good fishes and bad fishes. I trust you will be of the better sort, and lean to the truth."

Philpot:—"My lord, it is my whole desire now to follow that which is good, whatsoever I have done in times past, and to cleave to God's truth."

Durham:—"Do you so, and then shall you do well. It is almost night, my lord of London, I must needs be gone."

London:—"Nay, my lord of Durham, I must desire your lordship, and my lord of Chichester, to tarry a little while." The bishops begin to be weary of their part.

And before he had so said, the bishop of Bath went his way without saying any word.

Bonner would fain pick out matter if he could tell how.

"What, my lord of Bath, will you be gone? I pray you, tarry. My lords, I have earnest matters to charge this man withal, whereof I would your lordships to be made privy, and I have them here written in a libel. I pray you, sit down again, or else I will. First, I lay to him here, that he hath written in a bible, which I took from him, this erroneous saying, 'The Holy Ghost is Christ's vicar in earth.' Wilt thou abide by this saying of thine; that the Spirit is Christ's vicar on earth?"

Philpot:—"My lord, it is not my saying, it is a better learned man's than mine; for I use not to write mine own sayings, but the notable sayings of other ancient writers, as all others be, where ye find the same written. And, as I remember, it is even the saying of St Bernard[1], and a saying that I need not to be ashamed of, neither you to be offended at; as my lord of Durham and my lord of Chichester by their learning can discern, and will not reckon it evil said."

London:—"No will? Why, take away the first syllable, and it soundeth Arius."

Philpot:—"That is far fetched indeed: if your lordship will scan men's sayings in such wise, you may find out what you list."

Another matter picked against Philpot.

London:—"But to help this, I find moreover written with his own hand in another book, *In me Johanne Philpotto ubi abundavit peccatum, superabundavit et gratia;* that is, 'In me John Philpot, where sin did abound, grace hath superabounded.' I pray you, what superabundant grace have you more than other men? So said Arius, that he had abundance of grace above all others."

Philpot:—"My lord, you need not be offended with that [Rom. v. 20.] saying more than the other, for it is the saying of St Paul himself; and I did apply it to myself for my comfort, knowing that though my sins be huge and great in the sight of God, yet is his mercy and grace above them all. And concerning Arius and his adherents, I defy them; as it is well known I have written against them."

[1 This saying has not been found in Bernard; though that writer repeatedly speaks of *Peter* as being 'Christ's vicar on earth.']

London:—"Also I lay to thy charge, that thou killedst thy father, and was accursed of thy mother in her death-bed, as I can bring witness thereof."

Philpot:—"O Lord, what blasphemy is this! Hath your lordship nothing of truth to charge me withal, but (as I may speak it with your honours) such forged blasphemous lies? If any of these can be proved, I will promise here to recant at Paul's Cross what you will have me: I am so sure they are as great blasphemies as may be objected against any man. Hah, my lords! I pray you consider how my lord of London hath hitherto proceeded against me: for indeed he hath none other but such pretensed slanderous lies." Philpot falsely charged with untruth, when no truth can be found against him.

Chichester:—"They be πάρεργα; that is, matters beside the purpose."

Durham:—"My lord, I must needs bid you farewell."

London:—"Nay, my lord, here is a letter which I shall desire your lordship to hear ere you go. This man (being in my keeping) hath taken upon him to write letters out of prison, and to pervert a young gentleman, called master Green, in my house, (Call him hither!) and hath made a false report of his examination, as you shall hear; not being content to be evil himself, but to make others as bad as himself. He all-to tare the letter, when he saw my man went about to search him; but yet I have pieced it again together, and caused a copy to be written thereof." Philpot charged with a letter written to master Green.

And he read the torn letter, bidding master Christopherson and Morgan to mark the copy thereof.

The contents of the letter were the examination of master Green before the bishop of London in the presence of master Fecknam, dean of Paul's, and of divers others; whose ready answers in the scriptures and in the doctors were wondered at of the dean himself, and of many others, as Fecknam did report; and that he was committed to Dr Chedsey, and to have his meat from the bishop's own table. The contents of Philpot's letter to Green.

"How say you, my lords? was this well done of him, being my prisoner, to write this? And yet he hath written a shameful lie, that he was in Dr Chedsey's keeping. How say you, master doctor Chedsey? is it not a shameful lie?"

Chedsey:—"Yes, my lord, he was never in my keeping."

London:—"Art thou not ashamed to write such shameful Green called.

lies? Come hither, master Green: Did I not shew you this letter?"

Green:—"Yea, forsooth, my lord; you shewed it me."

Philpot again charged with an untruth.

London:—"How think you, my lords, is not this an honest man to belie me, and to call my chaplain a great conjuror?" [My lord of Durham smiled thereat.]

Philpot:—"Your lordship doth mistake all things. This letter (as your lordship may perceive, and all others that have heard the same) was not written by me, but by a friend of mine, certifying me at my request, how master Green sped at the bishop of London's hands: and there is nothing in the letter that either I, or he that wrote it, need to fear, but that might be written as my report."

London:—"Then tell me who wrote it, if you dare."

Philpot:—"No, my lord, it is not my duty to accuse my friend; and specially, seeing you will take all things to the worst; neither shall you ever know of me who wrote it. Your lordship may see in the end of the letter, that my friend did write unto me upon the occasion of my appeal, which I have made to the whole parliament house about such matters as I am wrongfully troubled for."

London:—"I would see any so hardy to put up thine appeal."

Philpot:—"My lord, I cannot tell what God will work: I have written it, speed it as it may."

London:—"My lords, I have used him with much gentleness since he came to me. How sayest thou? have I not?"

Philpot:—"If to lie in the vilest prison in this town (being a gentleman and an archdeacon), and in a coal-house, by the space of five or six weeks already, without fire or candle, be to be counted gentleness at your hands, I must needs say I have found gentleness. But there were never men so cruelly handled as we are at these days."

London:—"Lo, what a varlet is this! Besides this, my lords, even yesterday he procured his man to bring him a bladder of black powder, I cannot tell for what purpose, I—"

Black powder sent to Philpot to make ink.

Philpot:—"Your lordship needeth not to mistrust the matter: it is nothing but to make ink withal, for lack of ink, as I had it before in the King's Bench, when my keeper took away my inkhorn."

London:—"And why shouldst thou go about any such thing unknown to me, being thy keeper? for I am thy keeper in this house, I tell thee."

Philpot:—"My lord, because you have caused my penner and inkhorn to be taken from me, I would yet fain that my friends might understand what I lack: not that I intend to write any thing that I would be afraid should come to your sight."

False surmises against Philpot.

London:—"More than this, my lords, he caused a pig to be roasted, and made a knife be put between the skin and the flesh; for what purpose, judge you. How sayest thou? didst thou not so?"

Philpot:—"I cannot deny but there was half a pig sent me, and under the same a knife lying in the sauce, but for no ill purpose that I know: your lordship may judge what you will. It was not to kill myself nor any other, as you would have men to believe; for I was never yet without a knife, since I came to prison: therefore all these be but false surmises, and not worth rehearsal."

London:—"I have here to lay to his charge (chiefest of all) his book of the report of the disputation had in the convocation-house, which is the rankest heresy that may be, against the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you, master doctor Weston? did he maintain the same there stubbornly, or no?"

Weston:—"Yea, my lord, that he did, and would never be answered. And it is pity that the same worshipful congregation should be slandered with such untrue reports."

Dr Weston's chief arguments in the convocation house.

Philpot:—"You answered me indeed, master doctor, (being then prolocutor) goodly, with 'Hold thy peace,' and 'Have him to prison,' and 'Put him out of the house.' I have read the book, and I find the report of every man's argument to be true in all points. And if there be any fault, it is, because he setteth forth your doings too favourably, and nothing like to that you did use me, being an archdeacon, and not of the worst of the house."

Weston:—"Thou art no archdeacon."

Philpot:—"Indeed, master doctor, ye have amongst you unarchdeaconed me as now (I thank God of it), and that without all order of law."

London:—"I pray you, my lords, hearken what he writeth of himself: I read it over this morning, and made a note of it. He saith, that Dr Weston called him frantic and madman, and said he should go to Bethlehem."

Philpot:—"Indeed, my lord, so it pleased Dr Weston to taunt at me, and say his shameful pleasure; but yet I was no whit the more so for all his sayings, than Christ was when the Scribes and Pharisees said likewise he was mad, and that he was possessed of a devil, most blasphemously."

Bishop Tonstal and master Weston give over the matter.

Durham:—"My lord of London! I can tarry no longer, I must needs bid you farewell. Master Philpot, methinketh you have said well, that you will abide in the catholic faith and in the catholic church: I pray you so do, and you shall do right well."

And so he departed with master Weston and master Hussey.

Philpot:—"I have purposed so to do, howsoever I speed, by God's grace."

London:—"I pray you, my lord of Chichester, and master prolocutor, and master doctor Morgan, to commune with him whiles I bring my lord of Durham going."

Christopherson:—"Master Philpot, I was acquainted with you at Rome, if you be remembered (but you have forgotten me), and talked somewhat with you of these matters; and I find you now the same man that you were then: I wish it were otherwise. For God's sake be conformable to men that be better learned than you, and stand not in your own conceit."

Philpot:—"Whereas you call me in remembrance of acquaintance had at Rome, indeed it was so; though it were but very strange on your part to meward, being driven to necessity."

Christopherson:—"You know, the world was dangerous at that time."

Wisdom in God's matters consisteth not in man's learning.

Philpot:—"Nothing so dangerous as it is now; but let that pass. Whereas you say, you find me to be the same man I was then, I praise God for that you see me not like a reed wavering with every wind. And whereas you would have me follow better learned men than myself; indeed I acknowledge that you, with a great many others, are far

better learned than I, whose books, in respect of learning, I am not worthy to carry after you. But faith and the wisdom of God consist not in learning only; and therefore St Paul willeth that our faith be not grounded upon the wisdom of man. If you can shew by learning out of God's book, that I ought to be of another faith than I am, I will hear you, and any other man, whatsoever he be."

Christopherson:—"I marvel why you should dissent from the catholic church, since it hath thus long universally been received, except within these five or six years here in England."

Philpot:—"I do not dissent from the true catholic church; I do only dissent from the bishop of Rome, where if you can prove to be the catholic church of Christ, I will be of the same also with you."

Christopherson:—"Will you believe St Cyprian, if I can shew out of him, 'that the church of Rome is such a one, [1 Cor. ii. 5.] unto the which misbelief cannot approach'."

Philpot:—"I am sure, you cannot shew any such saying out of St Cyprian."

Christopherson:—"What will you lay thereon?"

Philpot:—"I will lay as much as I am able to make."

Morgan:—"Will you promise to recant, if I shew his saying to be true?"

Philpot:—"My faith shall not hang upon any doctor's saying, further than he shall be able to prove the same by God's word."

Christopherson:—"I will go fetch the book, and shew it him by and by."

And therewithal he went into the bishop's study, and fetched Cyprian, and appointed out these words in one of his epistles: "But unto the Romans, whose faith by the testimony of the apostle is praised, misbelief can have no access[1]."

Philpot:—"These words of Cyprian do nothing prove your pretensed assertion, which is, that to the church of Rome there could come no misbelief."

[1 "Nec cogitare eos esse Romanos, quorum fides, apostolo prædicante, laudata est, ad quos perfidia habere non possit accessum." Cypr. Epist. LV. p. 86. Par. 1726.]

Christopherson:—"Good Lord! no doth? What can be said more plainly?"

Philpot:—"He speaketh not of the church of Rome absolutely."

Christopherson:—"By God, a child that can but his grammar, will not deny that you do, the words be so plain."

Philpot:—"Swear not, master doctor, but weigh Cyprian's words with me, and I shall make you to say as I have said."

Christopherson:—"I am no doctor; but I perceive it is but labour lost to reason with you."

Dr Day shrinketh also away.

And with that the bishop of London came in blowing again, and said, "What! is my lord of Chichester gone away also?" [for he even a little before departed also, without saying any other word, but he must needs be gone.] "What is the matter you now stand upon?"

Morgan:—"Master Christopherson hath shewed master Philpot a notable place of the authority of the church of Rome, and he maketh nothing of it."

Bonner:—"Where is the place? Let me see. By my faith, here is a place alone. Come hither, sir, what say you to this? Nay, tarry a while; I will help this place with St Paul's own testimony, the first to the Romans, where he saith, that their faith is preached throughout the world. How can you be able to answer this?"

[Rom. i. 8.

A place of Cyprian expounded.

Philpot:—"Yes, my lord, it is soon answered, if you will consider all the words of Cyprian: for he speaketh of such as in his time were faithful at Rome, and followed the doctrine of St Paul, as he had taught them, and as it was notified throughout the world by an epistle which he had written in the commendation of their faith. 'With such as are praised of St Paul at Rome, for following the true faith, misbelief can have no place[1].' And if you can shew that the faith which the church of Rome holdeth now, is that faith which the apostle praised and allowed in the Romans in his time, then will I say that St Cyprian then said, and with you, 'that infidelity can have no place there:' but otherwise it maketh not absolutely for the authority of the church of Rome, as you do mistake it."

[1 Vide supr. p. 119. not. 1.]

Christopherson:—"You understand Cyprian well indeed! I think you never read him in your life."

Philpot:—"Yes, master doctor, that I have: I can shew you a book noted with mine own hand: though I have not read so much as you, yet I have read somewhat. It is a shame for you to wrest and writhe the doctors as you do, to maintain a false religion; which be altogether against you, if you take them aright. And indeed your false packing of doctors together hath given me and others occasion to look upon them, whereby we find you shameful liars and misreporters of the ancient doctors." Papists wresters and misreporters of the doctors.

Morgan:—"What! will you be in hand to allow doctors now? They of your sect do not so: I marvel therefore you will allow them."

Philpot:—"I do allow them inasmuch as they do agree with the scriptures, and so do all they which be of the truth, howsoever you term us: and I praise God for that good understanding I have received by them."

Christopherson:—"What! you understand not the doctors: you may be ashamed to say it."

Philpot:—"I thank God, I understand them better than you: for you have the blindness of heart; so that you understand not truly what you read, no more than the wall here, as the taking of Cyprian doth well declare. And afore God you are but deceivers of the people, for all your brag you make of learning; neither have ye scripture or ancient doctor on your side, being truly taken." Doctors make against the papists, if they be rightly taken.

Morgan:—"Why, all the doctors be on our side, and against you altogether."

Philpot:—"Yea, so you say when you be in your pulpits alone, and none to answer you. But if you will come to cast accounts with me thereof, I will venture with you a recantation, that I (as little sight as I have in the doctors) will bring more authorities of ancient doctors on my side, than you shall be able for yours; and he that can bring most, to him let the other side yield. Are ye so content herewith?"

Christopherson:—"It is but folly to reason with you: you will believe no man but yourself."

Philpot:—"I will believe you, or any other learned man, if you can bring any thing worthy to be believed. You cannot

win me with vain words from my faith: before God, there is no truth in you."

Morgan:—"What! no truth? no truth? ha, ha, ha!"

Philpot:—"Except the articles of the Trinity, you are corrupt in all other things, and sound in nothing."

Morgan:—"What say you? do we not believe well on the sacrament?"

Philpot:—"It is the thing which, among all others, you do most abuse."

Morgan:—"Wherein, I pray you? tell us."

Philpot:—"I have told you before, master doctor, in the convocation-house."

Morgan here beginneth to play the *cipων.*

Morgan:—"Yes, marry: indeed you told us there very well; for there you fell down upon your knees, and fell to weeping; ha, ha, ha!"

Philpot:—"I did weep indeed, and so did Christ upon Jerusalem, and am not to be blamed therefor, if you consider the cause of my weeping."

Morgan:—"What! make you yourself Christ? ha, ha, ha!"

Philpot:—"No, sir, I make not myself Christ: but I am not ashamed to do as my Master and Saviour did, to bewail and lament your infidelity and idolatry, which I there foresaw through tyranny you would bring again to this realm, as this day doth declare."

Morgan:—"That is your argument."

Christopherson:—"Wherein do we abuse the sacrament? tell us."

The sacrament abused by the papists, how and wherein.

Philpot:—"As I may touch but one of the least abuses, you minister it not in both kinds, as ought you to do, but keep the one half from the people, contrary to Christ's institution."

Christopherson:—"Why, is not there as much contained in one kind as in both? And what need is it then to minister in both kinds?"

Sacrament in one kind.

Philpot:—"I believe not so; for if it had, Christ would have given but one kind only, for he instituted nothing superfluous; and therefore you cannot say that the whole effect of the sacrament is as well in one kind as in both, since the scripture teacheth otherwise."

Christopherson:—"What if I can prove it by scripture,

that we may minister it in one kind? The apostles did so, as it may appear in the Acts of the Apostles in one or two places, [Acts ii. 42.] where it is written that the apostles continued 'in prayers and in breaking of bread,' which is meant of the sacrament."

Philpot:—"Why, master doctor, do you not know that St Luke, by making mention of breaking of bread, meaneth the whole use of the sacrament, according to Christ's institution, by a figure which you have learned in grammar, 'synecdoche,' where part is mentioned, and the whole understood to be done, as Christ commanded it?"

Christopherson:—"Nay, that is not so. For I can shew you out of Eusebius in Eccl. Hist., that there was a man of God (whom he named) that sent the sacrament in one kind by a boy to one that was sick[1]."

Philpot:—"I have read indeed, that they did use to give that was left of the communion-bread to children, to mariners, and to women; and so peradventure the boy might carry a piece of that was left to the sick man."

Christopherson:—"Nay, as a sacrament it was purposely sent unto him."

Philpot:—"If it were so, yet can you not precisely say that he had not the cup ministered unto him also, by some other sent unto him. But what, though one man did use it thus? doth it follow that all men may do the like? St Cyprian noteth many abuses of the sacrament in his time, which rose upon singular men's examples, as using of water instead of wine: therefore he saith, 'We must not look what any man hath done before us, but what Christ first of all men did and commanded[2].'"

Christopherson:—"Hath not the church taught us so to use the sacrament? and how do we know that Christ is *homousios*, that is, of one substance with the Father, but by the de-

[1 Ἐντολῆς δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δεδομένης, τοὺς ἀπαλλαττομένους του βίου, εἰ δέοιντο, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἱκετεύσαντες τύχοιεν, ἀφίεσθαι, ἵν' ἐνέλπιδες ἀπαλλάττωνται, βραχὺ τῷ παιδαρίῳ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἐπέδωκεν ἀποβρέξαι κελεύσας, καὶ τῷ πρεσβύτῃ κατὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐπιστάξαι. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Lib. VI. cap. xliv. Par. 1678. p. 200.]

[2 "Quare si solus Christus audiendus est, non debemus attendere quid alius ante nos faciendum esse putaverit, sed quid qui ante omnes est Christus prior fecerit." Cypr. Epist. LXIII. p. 108. Par. 1726.]

termination of the church? How can you prove that otherwise by express words of scripture? and where find you *homousios* in all the scripture?"

[Heb. i. 3.] *Philpot:*—"Yes, that I do in the first of the Hebrews, where it is written that Christ is the express image of God's own substance, *ejusdem substantiæ*."

Christopherson:—"Nay, that is not so: that is, there is no more but *expressa imago substantiæ*, the express image of God's substance; and image is accident."

Philpot:—"It is in the text, 'of his substance,' *substantiæ illius*, or of his own substance, as it may be right well interpreted. Besides this, that which Christ spake of himself in [John x. 30.] St John manifesteth the same, saying, 'I and the Father be one thing,' *Ego et Pater unum sumus*. And whereas you say, *imago* here is accidence, the ancient fathers use this for a strong argument to prove Christ to be God, because he is the very image of God."

Christopherson:—"Yea do? is this a good argument, because we are the image of God, *ergo*, we are God?"

The image of God is not like in Christ and in us. [Gen. i. 26. ix. 6.]

Philpot:—"We are not called the express image of God, as it is written of Christ; and we are but the image of God by participation; and, as it is written in Genesis, we are made to the likeness and similitude of God. But you ought to know, master Christopherson, that there is no accident in God; and therefore Christ cannot be the image of God, but he must be of the same substance with God."

Christopherson:—"Tush!"

Presence of the sacrament.

Morgan:—"How say you to the presence of the sacrament? Will you stand to the judgment here of your book, or no? or will you recant?"

Philpot:—"I know you go about to catch me in words. If you can prove that book to be of my setting forth, lay it to my charge when I come to judgment."

The sacrament of the mass as it is used is no sacrament.

Morgan:—"Speak, be you of the same mind as this book is of, or no? Sure I am you were once, unless you are become another manner of man than you were."

Philpot:—"What I was, you know: what I am, I will not tell you now. But this I will say to you, by the way, that if you can prove the sacrament of the mass, as you now use it, to be a sacrament, I will then grant you a presence; but

first you must prove the same a sacrament, and afterward entreat of the presence."

Morgan:—"Ho! do you doubt that it is a sacrament?"

Philpot:—"I am past doubting, for I believe you can never be able to prove it a sacrament."

Christopherson:—"Yea do? Good Lord! doth not St Augustine call it the sacrament of the altar? How say you to that?"

Philpot:—"That maketh nothing for the probation of your sacrament. For so he, with other ancient writers, do call the holy Communion or Supper of the Lord, in respect that it is the sacrament of the sacrifice which Christ offered upon the altar of the cross, the which sacrifice all the altars and sacrifices done upon the altars in the old law did prefigure and shadow; the which pertaineth nothing to your sacrament hanging upon your altars of lime and stone."

Altar, what it signifieth.

Christopherson:—"No doth? I pray you what signifieth 'altar?'"

Philpot:—"Not as you falsely take it, materially, but for the sacrifice of the altar of the cross."

Christopherson:—"Where find you it ever so taken?"

Philpot:—"Yes, that I do in St Paul to the Hebrews, where he saith, 'We have an altar, of the which it is not lawful for them to eat that serve the tabernacle.' Is not 'altar' in this place taken for the sacrifice of the altar, and not for the altar of lime and stone?"

[Heb. xiii. 10.]

Christopherson:—"Well! God bless me out of your company! you are such an obstinate heretic, as I have not heard the like."

Christopherson, for lack of better proof, falleth to exclaiming.

Philpot:—"I pray God keep me from such blind doctors, which when they are not able to prove what they say, then they fall to blaspheming (as you now do) for lack of better proof."

In the mean while the bishop of London was talking with some other by, and at length came in to supply his part, and said:

London:—"I pray you, masters, hearken what I shall say to this man. Come hither, master Green. And now, sir, [pointing to me], you cannot think it sufficient to be naught yourself, but must go about to procure this young gentleman by your letters to do the like."

Wrangling matter against Philpot.

Philpot:—"My lord, he cannot say that I ever hitherto wrote unto him concerning any such matter, as he here can testify."

Green:—"No, you never wrote unto me."

Bonner:—"Why, is not this your letter which you did write concerning him?"

Philpot:—"I have shewed your lordship my mind concerning that letter already: it was not written to master Green, neither was he privy to the writing thereof."

London:—"How say you then? if a man be in an error, and you know thereof, what are you bound to do in such a case?"

Philpot:—"I am bound to do the best I can to bring him out of it."

London:—"If master Green here be in the like, are you not bound to reform him thereof, if you can?"

Philpot:—"Yes, that I am, and will do the uttermost of my power therein."

The bishop, remembering himself, thinking that he would but shrewdly after his expectation be holpen at my mouth, but rather confirmed in that which he called an error, ceased to go any further in his demand, and called master Green aside, and before his registrar read him a letter: I know not the contents thereof. And therewithal he gave master Green the book of my disputation in the convocation-house; and afterward went aside, communing with master Christopherson, leaving master Morgan, master Harpsfield, and master Cosins, to reason with me in the hearing of master Green.

Morgan:—"Master Philpot, I would ask you how old your religion is?"

Philpot:—"It is older than yours by a thousand years and more."

Morgan:—"I pray you, where was it fifty years ago?"

Philpot:—"It was in Germany apparent, by the testimony of Huss, Jerome of Prague, and Wickliff, whom your generation a hundred years ago and more did burn for preaching the truth unto you; and before their time and since hath been, although under persecution it hath been put to silence."

Morgan:—"That is a marvellous strange religion, which no man can tell certainly where to find it."

Philpot:—"It ought to be no marvel unto you to see God's truth through violence oppressed; for so it hath been from the beginning from time to time, as it appeareth by stories, and as Christ's true religion is now to be found here in England, although hypocrisy hath by violence the upper hand. And in the Apocalypse you may see it was prophesied, that the true church should be driven into corners, and into the wilderness, and suffer great persecutions." [Rev. xii.]

Morgan:—"Ah! are you seen in the Apocalypse? there are many strange things."

Philpot:—"If I tell you the truth, which you are not able to refel, believe it, and dally not out so earnest matters. Methinketh you are liker a scoffer in a play, than a reasonable doctor to instruct a man: you are unclad, and dance naked in a net, and you see not your own nakedness." Scoffing Morgan.

Morgan:—"What! I pray you, be not so quick with me; let us talk a little more coldly together."

Philpot:—"I will talk with you as mildly as you can desire, if you will speak learnedly and charitably. But if you go about with taunts to delude the truth, I will not hide it from you."

Morgan:—"Why will not you submit your judgment to the learned men of this realm?"

Philpot:—"Because I see they can bring no good ground whereupon I may, with a good conscience, settle my faith more surely than on that which I am now grounded upon by God's manifest word."

Morgan:—"No do? that is marvel, that so many learned men should be deceived."

Philpot:—"It is no marvel by St Paul, for he saith, 'that not many wise, neither many learned after the world, be called to the knowledge of the gospel.'" [1 Cor. i. 26.]

Morgan:—"Have you then alone the Spirit of God, and not we?"

Philpot:—"I say not that I alone have the Spirit of God; but as many as abide in the true faith of Christ have the Spirit of God, as well as I."

Morgan:—"How know you that you have the Spirit of God?"

Philpot:—"By the faith of Christ which is in me."

Morgan falleth to scoffing and railing at the good martyrs of God.

Morgan:—Ah! by faith, do you so? I ween it to be the spirit of the buttery, which your fellows have had that have been burned before you, who were drunk the night before they went to their death, and I ween went drunken unto it."

Philpot:—"It appeareth by your communication, that you are better acquainted with the spirit of the buttery than with the Spirit of God; wherefore I must now tell thee, thou painted wall and hypocrite, in the name of the living Lord, whose truth I have told thee, that God shall rain fire and brimstone upon such scorners of his word and blasphemers of his people, as thou art."

Morgan:—"What! you rage now."

Philpot:—"Thy foolish blasphemies have compelled the Spirit of God, which is in me, to speak that which I have said to thee, thou enemy of all righteousness!"

Morgan:—"Why do ye judge me so?"

Philpot:—"By thine own wicked words I judge of thee, thou blind and blasphemous doctor! for as it is written, 'By thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.' I have spoken on God's behalf, and now I have done with thee."

[Matt. xii. 37.]

Morgan:—"Why, then I tell thee, Philpot, thou art a heretic, and shalt be burned for thine heresy, and afterwards go to hell-fire."

Philpot, with great zeal, denounceth hell-fire to Morgan unless he repent.

Philpot:—"I tell thee, thou hypocrite! that I pass not this for thy fire and fagots, neither, I thank God my Lord, stand in fear of the same: my faith in Christ shall overcome them. But the hell-fire which thou threatenest me is thy portion, and is prepared for thee (unless thou speedily repent), and for such hypocrites as thou art."

Morgan:—"What! thou speakest upon wine: thou hast tippled well to-day, by likelihood."

Philpot:—"So said the cursed generation, of the apostles being replenished with the Holy Ghost, and speaking the wondrous works of God. They said they were drunk, when they had nothing else to say, as thou dost now."

[Acts ii. 13.]

Morgan:—"Why, I am able to answer thee, I trow."

Philpot:—"So it seemeth, with blasphemies and lies."

Morgan:—"Nay, even with learning, say what thou canst."

Philpot:—"That appeared well at my disputation in the

convocation-house, where thou tookest upon thee to answer those few arguments I was permitted to make, and yet wast not able to answer one; but in thine answers didst fumble and stammer, that the whole house was ashamed of thee: and the final conclusions of all thine answer was, that thou couldest answer me, if I were in the schools at Oxford!" Morgan fumbling and stammering in the convocation-house.

Morgan:—"What! did I so? thou beliest me."

Philpot:—"I do not belie thee: the book of the report of the disputation beareth record thereto, and all that were present then can tell, if they list, thou saidst so. And I tell thee plain, thou art not able to answer that Spirit of truth which speaketh in me for the defence of Christ's true religion. I am able by the might thereof to drive thee round about this gallery before me: and if it would please the queen's majesty and her council to hear thee and me, I would make thee for shame shrink behind the door."

Morgan:—"Yea, would you so?"

Philpot:—"Thou hast the spirit of illusion and sophistry, which is not able to countervail the Spirit of truth: thou art but an ass in the true understanding of things appertaining unto God. I call thee ass, not in respect of malice, but in that thou kickest against the truth, and art void of all godly understanding, not able to answer to that thou braggest in." Morgan taken up for halting.

Morgan:—"Why, have I not answered thee in all things thou hast said unto me? I take them to record."

Philpot:—"Ask of my fellow whether I be a thief!"

Cosins:—"Hark! he maketh us all thieves."

Philpot:—"You know that phrase of the proverb, that like will hold with like. And I am sure you will not judge with me against him, speak I never so true; and in this sense I speak it. The strongest answer that he hath made against me is, that you will burn me."

Morgan:—"Why, we do not burn you: it is the temporal men that burn you, and not we."

Philpot:—"Thus you would, as Pilate did, wash your hands of all your wicked doings. But I pray you, call upon the secular power to be executioners of your unrighteous judgments. And have you not a title in your law, 'to burn heretics?'"

Harpsfield:—"I have heard you both a good while reason

together, and I never heard so stout a heretic as you are, master Philpot."

Cosins:—"Neither I, in all my life."

Philpot:—"You are not able to prove me a heretic by one jot of God's word."

Harpsfield and Cosins depart.

Harpsfield:—"You have the spirit of arrogancy: I will reason with you no more."

And so he was departing, and master Cosins also: and with that the bishop and Christopherson came in again, and said:

Bonner:—"Master doctor, how do this man and you agree?"

Morgan:—"My lord, I do ask him where his church was fifty years ago?"

Bonner:—"Are you not half agreed? as one man said once to two parties, of whom the one was equally disagreeing from the other."

Christopherson:—"My lord, it is but folly to reason with him any further: your lordship shall but lose time, for he is incurable."

Bonner:—"Well, then, let his keeper have him away."

And with that Dr Chedsey led me a way by which we could not pass, and therefore came back again through the bishop's chamber, where all these doctors were clustered together; and, as I was passing by, the bishop took me by the gown and said, "Wot you what master Christopherson telleth me? I pray you, master Christopherson, rehearse the sentence in Latin." And so he did: the contents whereof were, that a heretic would not be won.

[Tit. iii. 10.] *Christopherson*:—"St Paul saith, 'Flee a heretic after once or twice warning.'"

Christian truth called heresy.

All the doctors:—"Yea, my lord, it is best you so do, and trouble your lordship no more with him."

Philpot:—"You must first prove me justly to be a heretic, before you use the judgment of St Paul against me; for he speaketh of such as hold opinion against the manifest word, the which you cannot prove by me: and because you want in your proof, and be able to prove nothing against me, therefore you go about falsely to suppose me to be a heretic, for the safeguard of your own counterfeit honesties. But afore

God you are the heretics, which so stoutly and stubbornly maintain so many things directly against God's word, as God in his time shall reveal."

As I went out of his chamber the bishop called me aside, and said,

Bonner:—"I pray thee in good sadness, what meanest thou by writing in the beginning of thy bible, 'The Spirit is the vicar of Christ on the earth?' I wis, you have some special meaning thereof." The Holy Ghost is Christ's vicar upon earth, and how.

Philpot:—"My lord, I have none other meaning than as I have told you already, that Christ, since his ascension, worketh all things in us by his Spirit, and by his Spirit doth dwell in us. I pray you, my lord, let me have my bible, with other lawful books and writings which you have of mine, whereof many of them be none of mine, but lent to me by my friends."

Bonner:—"Your bible you shall not have, but I will perhaps let you have another; and after I have perused the rest, you shall have such as I think good."

Philpot:—"I pray your lordship, then, that you would let me have candle-light." John Philpot denied to have candle-light.

Bonner:—"To what purpose, I pray you?"

Philpot:—"The nights be long, and I would fain occupy myself about somewhat, and not spend my time idly."

Bonner:—"You may then pray."

Philpot:—"I cannot well say my prayers without light."

Bonner:—"Can you not say your Pater-noster without a candle? I tell you, sir, you shall have some meat and drink of me, but candles you get none."

Philpot:—"I had rather have a candle than your meat and drink: but, seeing I shall not have my request, the Lord shall be my light."

Bonner:—"Have him down."

Chedsey:—"I will bring him to his keeper, my lord. Master Philpot, I wonder all these learned men, whom you have talked withal this day, can nothing at all persuade you."

Philpot:—"Why, master doctor, would you have me to be persuaded with nothing? or would you have me build my faith upon sand? What do you all bring, whereby I ought by any sufficient authority to be persuaded to you?"

Chedsey:—"I am sorry you will so wilfully cast away yourself, whereas you might live worshipfully: do you not think others have souls to save as well as you have?"

Philpot:—"Every man shall receive according to his own doings. Sure I am, you are deceived, and maintain a false religion; and as for my casting away, I would my burning day were to-morrow; for this delay is every day to die, and yet not to be dead."

Chedsey:—"You are not like to die yet, I can tell you."

Philpot:—"I am the more sorry thereof. But the will of God be done of me to his glory. Amen."

THE TWELFTH EXAMINATION. The twelfth examination of John Philpot, on Wednesday, the 4th of December, before the bishop of London, the bishop of Worcester, and the bishop of Bangor.

In the morning I was fetched down to the wardrobe adjoining to the chapel, and within a while after came three of the bishop's chaplains unto me, saying, "Master Philpot, my lord hath sent us unto you, to desire you to come to mass, certifying you that there is a doctor of divinity, a chaplain of my lord's, a notable learned man, called Dr Chedsey, going to mass. Therefore we also pray you, good master Philpot, be content to come: it is hard hereby."

Philpot, sent for to mass, refuseth to come.

Philpot:—"I wonder my lord would trouble you in sending you about this matter, seeing he knoweth that I am a man, by your law, that cannot hear mass, because I stand excommunicated."

Bishop's Chaplain:—"Your excommunication is but upon a contumacy; and my lord will dispense with you, if you will come."

Philpot:—"My lord cannot, for he is not mine ordinary; and I will not seek any such thing at his hands."

The bishop layeth out his articles again.

With this answer they went their way; and after mass the bishop called me before him into his chapel, and there, in the presence of his registrar (after he had said his mind, because I would not come to mass), recited the articles, which

he oftentimes before had done in that behalf, with the depositions of the witnesses, of whom some were not examined. "Sir," said Bonner, "what can you now say, why I should not proceed to give sentence against thee as a heretic?"

Philpot:—"Why, my lord, will you proceed to give sentence against me before your witnesses be examined? That is plain against your own law, as all your doings have been hitherto." The bishop's doings against the law.

Bonner:—"See what a fool thou art in the law. I need not to recite the depositions of the witnesses, but if I list; for I know them well enough already."

Philpot:—"It appeareth indeed you may do what you list."

Bonner:—"Tell me, I say, whether thou wilt answer, or no; and whether, if thou wert absolved of thy excommunication, thou wouldst come to mass, or no?"

Philpot:—"I have answered as much as I intended to do, until I be called to lawful judgment: and as concerning my conscience, I will not make you God, to sit there as yet: it is God's part only to be searcher of my heart."

Bonner:—"Look how foolishly he speaks. Art thou God? and yet dost thou not sit in thine own conscience?"

Philpot:—"I sit not in mine own conscience; but I know it, and God there only ought to sit, and no man else."

Bonner:—"Thou art a naughty fellow, and hast done much hurt, and hast seduced other poor fellows here in prison with thee by thy way of comforting them in their errors, and hast made them rejoice and sing with thee." Philpot is rebuked for singing.

Philpot:—"Yea, my lord, we shall sing, when you and such others as you are shall cry, *Væ, væ*, 'Wo, wo,' except you repent."

Bonner:—"What an arrogant fool is this! I will handle thee like a heretic, and that shortly."

Philpot:—"I fear nothing, I thank God, you can do to me. But God shall destroy such as thou art, and that shortly, as I trust."

Bonner:—"Have him away: this is a knave indeed."

And I was had into the wardrobe again by my keeper; and, within an hour after, was sent for to come before him and the bishops of Worcester and Bangor.

Bonner:—"Sir, I have talked with you many times, and have caused you to be talked with of many learned men, yea, and honourable, both temporal and spiritual, and it availeth nothing with you. I am blamed that I have brought thee afore so many; for they say thou gloriest to have many to talk withal. Well, now it lieth upon thee to look to thyself; for thy time draweth near to an end, if thou do not become conformable. And at this present we are sent from the synod to offer you this grace, that if you will come to the unity of the church of Rome with us, and acknowledge the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar with us, all that is past shall be forgiven, and you received to favour."

Talk between Philpot and the bishops of Worcester and Bangor.

Worcester:—"Master Philpot, we are sent (as you here have heard by my lord of London) from the synod, to offer you mercy, if you will receive it; and of good-will I bear you, I wish you to take it, whilst it is offered; and be not a singular man against a whole multitude of learned men, which now in fasting and prayer are gathered together to devise things to do you good. There have many learned men talked with you. Why should you think yourself better learned than them all? Be not of such arrogancy, but have humility: remember, there is no salvation but in the church."

Bangor:—"Methinketh my lord hath said wonderfully well unto you, that you should not think yourself so well learned, but other men are as well learned as you; neither of so good wit, but others be as wise as you; neither of so good memory, but others have as good memories as you. Therefore mistrust your own judgment, and come home to us again. I wis, I never liked your religion, because it was set forth by violence and tyranny, and that is no token of true religion. And I was the same manner of man then that I am now, and a great many more. Marry, for fear we held our peace, and bare with that time. Wherefore, master Philpot, I would you did well, for I love you: and therefore be content to come home with us again into the catholic church of Rome."

The pope's religion hath no other ground to stand upon but violence.

Philpot:—"Whereas, my lord (as I may begin first to answer you), you say, that religion is to be misliked which is set forth by tyranny, I pray God you give not men occasion to think the same by yours at this day, which hath

none other argument to stand by but violence. If you can shew me any good sufficient ground, whereby to ground my conscience, that the church of Rome is the true catholic church, whereunto you call me, I will gladly be of the same: otherwise I cannot so soon change the religion I have learned these many years."

Where this religion was one hundred years ago.

Bangor:—"Where was your religion to be found (I pray you) a hundred years ago, that any man knew of it?"

Philpot:—"It was in Germany, and in divers other places apparent."

Worcester:—"Jesus! will you be still so singular a man? What is Germany to the whole world?"

Bonner raileth at Latimer.

Bonner:—"My lords, I pray you, give me leave to tell you, that I sent for him to hear mass this morning. And wot you what excuse he made unto me? forsooth, that he was accursed, alleging his own shame. He playeth as that varlet Latimer did at Cambridge: when the vice-chancellor sent for him (who intended to have excommunicated him for some of his heresies), and the chancellor was coming to his chamber, he, hearing that the chancellor was coming, made answer that he was sick of the plague, and so deluded the chancellor. Even so this man saith he is accursed, because he will not come to mass."

Worcester:—"My lord, I am sure, here doth behave himself like a father unto you: therefore be admonished by him, and by us that come now friendly unto you, and follow your fathers before you."

Philpot:—"It is forbidden us of God by the prophet Ezekiel to follow our fathers, or to walk in their commandments." [Ezek. xx. 18.]

Worcester:—"It is written also in another place, 'Ask of your fathers'." [Job viii. 8.]

Fathers may be asked, but not followed further than they follow the scriptures.

Philpot:—"We ought to ask indeed our fathers, that have more experience and knowledge than we of God's will; but no more to allow them, than we perceive they agree with the scripture."

Worcester:—"You will be a contentious man, I see well; and St Paul saith, that neither we nor the church of God have any such custom." [1 Cor. xi. 16.]

Philpot:—"I am not contentious but for the verity of my faith, in the which I ought to contend with all such as do impugn the same without any just objection."

Worcester:—"Let us rise, my lord, for I see we shall do no good."

Bonner:—"Nay, I pray you, tarry and hear the articles I lay to his charge."

And after he had recited them, they arose, and after standing they reasoned with me awhile.

Worcester:—"Master Philpot, I am very sorry that you will be so singular. I never talked with any yet in my diocese, but after once communication had with me they have been contented to revoke their errors, and to teach the people how they were deceived, and so do much good—as you may, if you list. For, as I understand, you were archdeacon of Winchester (which is the eye of the bishop); and you may do much good in that country, if you would forsake your errors, and come to the catholic church."

Philpot:—"Wherewithal you so soon persuaded them to your will, I see not. Error, that I know, I hold none: of the catholic church I am sure I am."

Worcester:—"The catholic church doth acknowledge a real presence of Christ in the sacrament, and so will not you."

Philpot:—"That is not so: for I acknowledge a very essential presence in the sacrament duly used."

Worcester:—"What! a real presence?"

Philpot:—"Yea, a real presence by the Spirit of God in the right administration."

Worcester:—"That is well said: and do you agree with the catholic church also?"

Philpot:—"I do agree with the true catholic church."

Worcester:—"My lord of London, this man speaketh reasonably now."

Bonner:—"You do agree in generalities; but when it shall come to the particularities, you will far disagree."

Worcester:—"Well, keep yourself here, and you shall have other learned bishops to commune further with you, as my lord of Durham, and my lord of Chichester, whom, I hear say, you do like well."

Philpot:—"I do like them as I do all others that speak the truth. I have once already spoken with them, and they found no fault with me."

Worcester:—"Pray, in the mean season, for grace to God."

Philpot:—"Prayer is the comfortablest exercise I feel in my trouble, and my conscience is quiet, and I have the peace of mind, which cannot be the fruits of heresy."

Worcester:—"We will bid you farewell for this time."

Another Talk the same day.

After dinner they called for me again, and demanded of me whether I meant as I spake before dinner, and would not go from it. To whom I answered, that I would not go from that I had said. After dinner Philpot called again.

Worcester:—"You said, at my departing from you before dinner, that if we did burn you, we should burn a catholic man. Will you be a catholic man, and stand to the catholic church?"

Philpot:—"I will stand to the true catholic church."

Worcester:—"Will you stand to the catholic church of Rome?"

Philpot:—"If you can prove the same to be the catholic church, I will be one thereof."

Worcester:—"Did not Christ say unto Peter, and to all his successors of Rome, 'Feed my sheep, feed my lambs?' —which doth signify that he gave him a more authority than the rest."

Philpot:—"That saying pertaineth nothing to the authority of Peter above others, but declareth what Christ requireth of his beloved apostles, that they should with all diligence preach to the flock of Christ the way of salvation; and that doth the iteration of feeding, spoken to Peter, only signify. But the bishop of Rome little regardeth the spiritual feeding; and therefore he hath imagined an easier way to make himself lord of the whole world, yea, and of God's word too, and doth not feed Christ's flock, as Peter did." The words of Christ, "Feed my sheep," opened. The pope is no feeder.

Worcester:—"How can you tell that?"

Philpot:—"Yes, I have been there, and I could not learn of all his countrymen that ever he preacheth."

Worcester:—"Though he preacheth not one way, he preacheth another, by procuring good order for the church to be kept in."

Philpot:—"I am sure that it will be his damnation before

God, that he leaveth that he is commanded of Christ, and setteth forth his own decrees to deface the gospel."

Worcester:—"It is the evil living that you have seen at Rome, that causeth you to have this ill judgment of the church of Rome. I cannot now tarry with you to reason further of the matter. How say you to the real presence of the sacrament? will you stand to that?"

Philpot:—"I do acknowledge (as I have said) a real presence of the sacrament, in the due administration thereof, to the worthy receivers, by the Spirit of God."

Worcester:—"You add now a great many more words than you did before: and yet you say more of the sacrament, than a great many will do."

Talk with Dr Chedsey, and Dr Wright and others.

Thus they departed, and after them came in to me Dr Chedsey, and Dr Wright archdeacon of Oxford, with a great many more. "Master Philpot," said Chedsey, "here is master archdeacon of Oxford come to you, to give you good counsel; I pray, hear him."

Philpot:—"I will refuse to hear none that will counsel me any good; and if any can bring any matter better than I have, I will stick thereunto."

Wright:—"I would wish you, master Philpot, to agree with the catholic church, and not to stand in your own conceit. You see a great many of learned men against you."

Philpot:—"I am, master doctor, of the unfeigned catholic church, and will live and die therein: and if you can prove your church to be the true catholic church, I will be one of the same."

Wright:—"I came not to dispute with you, but to exhort you. Here be better learned than I, that can inform you better than I."

Chedsey:—"What proof would you have? I will prove unto you our church to have its being and foundation by the scriptures, by the apostles, and by the primitive church, confirmed with the blood of martyrs and with the testimony of all confessors."

Philpot:—"Give me your hand, master doctor; prove that, and have with you."

Dr Chedsey fetcheth his book of Annotations.

Chedsey:—"If I had my books here, I could soon prove it: I will go fetch some."—And with that he went and fetched his

book of Annotations, saying, "I cannot bring my books well, therefore I have brought my book of Annotations;" and turned there to a commonplace of the sacrament, asking me whether the catholic church did allow the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, or no? "I hear say you do confess a real presence: but I will be hanged, if you will abide by it: you will deny it by and by."

Philpot:—"That I have said, I cannot deny; neither intend, whatsoever you say."

Chedsey:—"If there be a real presence in the sacrament, then evil men receive Christ: which thing you will not grant, I am sure."

Philpot:—"I deny the argument; for I do not grant in the sacrament by transubstantiation any real presence, as you falsely imagine; but in the due administration to the worthy receivers."

Whether evil men receive the body of Christ.

Chedsey:—"I will prove that the evil and wicked men eat the body of Christ, as well as the good men, by St Austin here."—And in the beginning of his text St Austin seemeth to approve his assertion; but I bade him read out to the end, and there St Austin declareth most evidently that it was *quodammodo*, after a certain manner, the evil man received the body of Christ, which is sacramentally only in the outer sign, and not really or in deed, as the good do.[1] "And thus all the doctors that you seem to bring in for your purpose, be quite against you, if ye did uprightly weigh them."

"Quodammodo."

Chedsey:—"By God, you are a subtle fellow. See how he would writhe St Augustine's words."

Dr Chedsey fainteth in his proof.

Philpot:—"See who of us writheth St Austin more, you, or I which take his meaning by his own express words. And seeing you charge me of subtlety, what subtlety is this of you, to say that you will prove your matter of the church, even from the beginning, promising to shew your books therein; and when it cometh to the shewing, you are able to shew none, and for want of proof slip into a by matter, and yet faint in the proof thereof? Afore God you are but bare in your religion."

Chedsey:—"You shall be constrained to come to us at length, whether you will or no."

[1 Et ipse se portabat quodammodo. August. in Psal. xxxiii. Conc. 2. Sicut secundum quendam modum sacramentum corporis corpus Christi est. Epist. xxiii. ad Bonifac.]

Philpot:—"Hold that argument fast; for it is the best you have, for you have nothing but violence."

THE THIRTEENTH EXAMINATION.

The thirteenth examination of master Philpot, before the archbishop of York, and divers other bishops.

The Thursday after I was called in the morning before the archbishop of York, the bishop of Chichester, the bishop of Bath, and the bishop of London. The bishop of Chichester, being first come, began to talk with me.

Chichester:—"I am come of good will to talk with you, to instruct you what I can to come to the catholic church, and to will you to mistrust your own judgment, and to learn first to have humility, and by the same to learn of others that be better learned than you, as they did learn of such as were their betters before them."

Philpot:—"We must all be taught of God, and I will with all humility learn of them that will inform me by God's word, what I have to do. I confess, I have but little learning in respect of you, that both for your years and great exercise do excel therein. But faith consisteth not only in learning, but in simplicity of believing that which God's word teacheth. Therefore I will be glad to hear both of your lordship, and of any other that God hath revealed unto by his word, the true doctrine thereof, and to thank you that it doth please you to take pains herein."

Faith consists not in learning, but in believing.

Chichester:—"You take the first alleged amiss, as though all men should be taught by inspiration, and not by learning. How do we believe the gospel, but by the authority of the church, and because the same hath allowed it?"

Philpot:—"St Paul saith, 'he learned not the gospel by men, neither of men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ:' which is a plain and sufficient proof that the gospel taketh not its authority of man, but of God only."

The authority of the church. [Gal. i. 12.]

Chichester:—"St Paul speaketh but of his own knowledge, how he came thereto."

Philpot:—"Nay, he speaketh of the gospel generally,

'which cometh not from man but from God;' and that the church must only teach that which cometh from God, and not man's precepts."

Chichester:—"Doth not St Augustine say, 'I would not believe the gospel, if the authority of the church did not move me thereto'?" The place of Augustine.

Philpot:—"I grant that the authority of the church doth move the unbelievers to believe: but yet the church giveth not the word its authority; for the word hath its authority only from God, and not of men; men be but the disposers thereof. For first, the word hath its being before the church, and the word is the foundation of the church; and first is the foundation sure, before the building thereon can be stedfast." The word is the foundation of the church, and not the church of the word.

Chichester:—"I perceive you mistake me: I speak of the knowledge of the gospel, and not of the authority; for by the church we have all knowledge of the gospel."

Philpot:—"I confess that; for faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word. And I acknowledge that God appointeth an ordinary means for men to come unto the knowledge now, and not miraculously, as he hath done in times past; yet we that be taught by men, must take heed that we learn nothing else but that which was taught in the primitive church by revelation."

Here came in the bishop of York and the bishop of Bath; and after they had saluted one another, and communed awhile together, the archbishop of York called me unto them, saying, "Sir, we, hearing that you are out of the way, are come of charity to inform you, and to bring you into the true faith and to the catholic church again; willing you first to have humility, and to be humble and willing to learn of your betters; for else we can do no good with you. And God saith by his prophet, 'On whom shall I rest, but on the humble and meek, and such as tremble at my word?' Now if you will so be, we will be glad to travail[1] with you." Talk between the archbishop of York and Philpot. [Isai. lxvi. 2.]

Philpot:—"I know that humility is the door whereby we enter into Christ; and I thank his goodness, I have entered in at the same unto him, and with all humility will hear whatsoever truth you shall speak unto me."

[1 Travail: labour in argument.]

York:—"What be the matters you stand on, and require to be satisfied in?"

Philpot:—"My lord, if it shall please your grace, we were entered into a good matter before you came, of the church, and how we should know the truth but by the church."

York:—"Indeed that is the head we need to begin at; for the church being truly known, we shall sooner agree in the particular things."

Philpot:—"If your lordships can prove the church of Rome to be the true catholic church, it shall do much to persuade me toward that you would have me incline unto."

York:—"Why, let us go to the definition of the church. What is it?"

The church defined.

Philpot:—"It is a congregation of people dispersed through the world, agreeing together in the word of God, using the sacraments and all other things according to the same."

York:—"Your definition is of many words to no purpose."

Philpot:—"I do not precisely define the church, but declare unto you what I think the church is."

The church both visible and invisible.

York:—"Is the church visible or invisible?"

Philpot:—"It is both visible and invisible. The invisible church is of the elect of God only; the visible consists both of good and bad, using all things in faith, according to God's word."

York:—"The church is a universal congregation of faithful people in Christ through the world, which this word 'catholic' doth well express; for what is 'catholic' else? doth it not signify *universal?*"

Catholic defined by St Augustine.

Philpot:—"The church is defined by St Augustine to be called catholic in this wise[1]: 'The church is called therefore catholic, because it is thoroughly perfect, and halteth in nothing.'"

Catholic defined by the papists.

York:—"Nay, it is called catholic, because it is universally received of all christian nations for the most part."

Philpot:—"The church was catholic in the apostles' time, yet was it not universally received of the world. But because their doctrine which they had received of Christ was perfect,

[1 "Constitutam ab illo matrem Ecclesiam, quæ catholica dicitur ex eo quia universaliter perfecta est, et in nullo claudicat, et per totum orbem diffusa est." Augustin. Lib. de Genesi ad literam Op. Par. 1680. Tom. III. col. 94. § 4.]

and appointed to be preached and received of the whole world, therefore it is called the catholic faith, and all persons receiving the same, to be counted the catholic church. And St Augustine in another place writeth, that the catholic church is that which believeth aright."

York:—"If you will learn, I will shew you St Augustine, writing against the Donatists, that he proveth the catholic church by two principal points, which are, universality and succession of bishops in one apostolical see from time to time[2]. Now thus I will make mine argument. Universality and succession.

"The church of Rome is universal, and hath her succession of bishops from time to time. Ergo, It is the catholic church. How answer you to this argument?"

Philpot:—"I deny the antecedent, that the catholic church is only known by universality and succession of bishops."

York:—"I will prove it."—And with that he brought forth a book which he had noted out of the doctors, and turned to his commonplaces therein of the church, and recited one or two out of St Augustine, and specially out of his epistle written against the Donatists; where St Augustine manifestly proveth, that the Donatists were not the catholic church, because they had no succession of bishops in their opinion, neither universality; "and the same force hath St Augustine's argument against you."

Philpot:—"My lord, I have weighed the force of that argument before now, and I perceive it maketh nothing against Universality always to be joined with verity.

[2] This seems to be only a general reference. The treatises entitled "Contra Donatistas epistola, vulgo, De Unitate Ecclesiæ;" and those "Contra Cresconium Donatistam," are occupied throughout with the topics to which the archbishop refers. A quotation from each of those treatises on the points of 'universality' and 'succession' respectively, will serve as a sample of the whole argument.

"Jam vero istæ divinæ voces de universâ ecclesiâ ita manifestæ sunt, ut contra eas nisi hæretici animosâ perversitate et cæco furore latrare non possint." Augustin. Op. Par. 1694. Contra Donatistas, Epist. Lib. I. Tom. IX. col. 355.

"Nisi quia in causâ resarciendi hujus schismatis obliti estis propriæ vanitatis, quâ post episcopos ab istis Apostolorum sedibus inconcussam seriem usque in hæc tempora perducentes, non unum hominem, non unam domum, non unam civitatem, non unam gentem, sed orbem terrarum baptizandum esse censetis." Contra Cresconium Donatistam, Lib. III. Cap. xviii. col. 445. § 21.]

me, neither cometh it to your purpose; for I will stand to the trial of St Augustine for the approbation of the catholic church, whereof I am. For St Augustine speaketh of universality joined with verity, and of faithful successors of Peter before corruption came into the church. And so if you can deduce your argument for the see of Rome now, as St Augustine might do in his time, I would say it might be of some force: otherwise not."

York:—"St Augustine proveth the catholic church principally by succession of bishops, and therefore you understand not St Augustine. For what, I pray you, was the opinion of the Donatists, against whom he wrote? can you tell? What country where they of?"

Philpot:—"They were a certain sect of men, affirming, among other heresies, that the dignity of the sacraments depended upon the worthiness of the minister; so that, if the minister were good, the sacraments which he ministered were available, or else not."

The error of the Donatists.

Chichester:—"That was their error, and they had none other but that."—And he read another authority of St Augustine out of a book which he brought, even to the same purpose that the other was.

Philpot:—"I challenge St Augustine to be with me thoroughly in this point, and will stand to his judgment, taking one place with another."

Chichester:—"If you will not have the church to be certain, I pray you, by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy?"

The church may be certain, and yet not tied to one place.

Philpot:—"I do not deny the church to be certain; but I deny that it is necessarily tied to any place, longer than it abideth in the word; and for all controversies the word ought to be judge."

Chichester:—"But what if I take it one way, and you another; how then?"

Philpot:—"St Augustine sheweth a remedy for that, and willeth, 'that one place of the scripture ought to be understood by the more[1].'"

[1] "Quod unus locus per plura intelligi debeat." Aug. De Doctrina Christiana. [This precise set of words has not been found: it may have been, as in some former quotations, nothing more than the general

York:—"How answer you to this argument?—

'Rome hath known succession of bishops; which your church hath not. Ergo, that is the catholic church, and yours is not, because there is no such succession can be proved in your church.'"

Philpot:—"I deny, my lord, that succession of bishops is an infallible point to know the church by: for there may be a succession of bishops known in a place, and yet there be no church, as at Antioch, and Jerusalem, and in other places, where the apostles abode as well as at Rome. But if you put to the succession of bishops succession of doctrine withal (as St Augustine doth), I will grant it to be a good proof for the catholic church: but a local succession is nothing available."

The argument denied.

Local succession without succession of doctrine nothing avails.

York:—"You will have no church then, I see well."

Philpot:—"Yes, my lords, I acknowledge the catholic church, as I am bound by my creed: but I cannot acknowledge a false church for the true."

Chichester:—"Why, are there two catholic churches, then?"

Philpot:—"No. I know there is but one catholic church; but there have been, and be at this present, that take upon them the name of Christ and of his church, which be not so indeed, as it is written, 'There be they that call themselves apostles, and be not so indeed, but the synagogue of satan and liars.' And now it is with us, as it was with two women in Solomon's time, which lay together, and the one suppressed her child, and afterward went about to challenge the true mother's child."

The mother church of Rome compared to the woman in Solomon's time, that falsely challenged the true mother's child from her. [Rev. ii. 9. 1 Kings iii. 20.]

Chichester:—"What a babbling is here with you now!

impression of the sense of the writer, cast into a form of words of his own devising. This is undoubtedly the case in many of the quotations from the Fathers and other ecclesiastical writers, which are met with in later theologians, who give not unfrequently (as in this instance it is thought that Philpot may have done) even the *words* of the original author from memory. "Tum vero factâ quâdam familiaritate cum ipsa lingua divinarum scripturarum, in ea quæ obscura sunt aperienda et discutienda pergendum est, ut ad obscuriores locutiones illustrandas de manifestioribus sumantur exempla, et quædam certarum sententiarum testimonia dubitationem incertis auferant." Aug. de Doct. Christ. Lib. II. cap. ix. col. 24. § 14. Par. 1680. Tom. III.

"Ubi autem apertius ponuntur, ibi discendum est quomodo in locis intelligantur obscuris." Ibid. Lib. III. cap. xxvi. p. 56. § 37.]

I see you lack humility. You will go about to teach, and not to learn."

Philpot:—"My lords, I must desire you to bear with my hasty speech: it is my infirmity of nature. All that I speak is to learn by. I would you did understand all my mind, that I might be satisfied by you through better authority."

Chichester:—"My lord, if it please your grace, turn the argument upon him, which you have made, and let him shew the succession of the bishops of his church, as we can do. How say you, can you shew the succession of bishops in your church from time to time? I tell you, this argument troubled Dr Ridley so sore, that he could never answer it: yet he was a man well learned; I dare say you will say so."

Philpot:—"He was a man so learned, that I was not worthy to carry his books for learning."

Chichester:—"I promise you, he was never able to answer that. He was a man that I loved well, and he me; for he came unto me divers times being in prison, and conferred with me."

Succession of bishops alone is no sufficient point to prove the catholic church.

Philpot:—"I wonder, my lord, that you should make this argument which you would turn upon me, for the trial of my church whereof I am, or that you would make bishop Ridley so ignorant that he was not able to answer it, since it is of no force. For behold, first I denied you, that local succession of bishops in one place is a necessary point alone to prove the catholic church by; and that which I have denied you cannot prove: and is it then reason that you should put me to the trial of that, which by you is unproved, and of no force to conclude against me?"

Chichester:—"I see, my lords, we do but lose our labours to reason with him: he taketh himself to be better learned than we."

Philpot:—"I take upon me the name of no learning. I boast of no knowledge, but of faith and of Christ, and that I am bound undoubtedly to know, as I am sure I do."

Chichester:—"These heretics take upon them to be sure of all things they stand in. You should say rather with humility, I trust I know Christ, than that you be sure thereof."

Philpot:—"Let him doubt of his faith that listeth: God giveth me always grace to believe that I am sure of true faith and favour in Christ."

Bath:—"How will you be able to answer heretics, but by the determination of the known catholic church?"

Philpot:—"I am able to answer all heretics by the word of God, and convince them by the same."

Chichester:—"How arrogantly is that spoken! I dare not say so."

Philpot:—"My lord, I pray you bear with me; for I am bold on the truth's side, and I speak somewhat by experience that I have had with heretics; and I know the Arians be the subtlest that ever were, and yet I have manifest scriptures to beat them down withal."

Chichester:—"I perceive now you are the same manner of man I have heard of, which will not be satisfied by learning."

Philpot:—"Alas, my lord! why do you say so? I do desire most humbly to be taught, if there be any better way that I should learn; and hitherto you have shewed me no better: therefore I pray your lordship not to misjudge without a cause."

Bath:—"If you be the true catholic church, then will you hold with the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, which the true church hath ever maintained."

Philpot:—"And I, my lord, with the true church do hold the same in the due ministration of the sacrament. But I desire you, my lord, there may be a better conclusion in our first matter, before we enter into any other; for if the church be proved, we shall soon agree in the rest."

In the mean while my lord of York was turning his book for more places to help forth his cause.

York:—"I have found at length a very notable place, which I have looked for all this while, of St Augustine, *De simplicitate credendi*[1]."

[1 "Tenet consensio populorum atque gentium: tenet auctoritas miraculis inchoata, spe nutrita, caritate aucta, vetustate firmata: tenet ab ipsâ sede Petri Apostoli, cui pascendas oves suas post resurrectionem Dominus commendavit, usque ad præsentem episcopatum successio sacerdotum: tenet postremo ipsum Catholicæ nomen, quod non sine causâ inter tam multas hæreses sic ista ecclesia sola obtinuit, ut cum omnes hæretici se catholicos dici velint, quærenti tamen peregrino alicui, ubi ad Catholicam conveniatur, nullus hereticorum vel basilicam suam vel domum audeat ostendere." August. contra Epist. Manichæi quam vocant Fundamenti. Op. Par. 1694. Tom. VIII. col. 153. § 5. No

Chichester:—"It is but folly, my lord, that your grace do read him any more places, for he esteemeth them not."

Philpot falsely reported to deny doctors.

Philpot:—"I esteem them, inasmuch as they be of force, as your lordship doth hear me deny no doctors you bring, but only require the true application of them, according to the writer's meaning, and as by his own words may be proved."

Four points out of St Augustine.

York:—"I will read him the place, and so make an end."

After he had read the sentence, he said, that by four special points here St Augustine proveth the catholic church. The first is, by the consent of all nations; the second, by the apostolic see; the third, by universality; and the fourth, by this word 'catholic.'

Chichester:—"That is a notable place indeed, if it please your grace."

Philpot:—"I pray you, my lord, of what church doth St Augustine write the same? of Rome, or not?"

York:—"Yea, he writeth it of the church of Rome."

Philpot:—"I will lay with your lordship as much as I can make, it is not so; and let the book be seen."

Bath:—"What art thou able to lay? thou hast nothing."

York:—"Doth he not make mention here of the apostolic see, whereby he meaneth Rome?"

Answer to the archbishop's four points.

Philpot:—"That is very straitly interpreted, my lord, as though the apostolic see had been nowhere else but at Rome. But let it be Rome, and yet you shall never verify the same, unless all the other conditions do go therewith, as St Augustine doth proceed withal; whereof none, except the apostolic see, can now be verified of the church of Rome. For the faith which that see now maintaineth hath not the consent of all nations, neither hath had. Besides that, it cannot have the name of catholic, because it differeth from the catholic churches, which the apostles planted, almost in all things."

York:—"Nay, he goeth about here to prove the catholic church by universality; and how can you shew your church to be universal fifty or a hundred years ago?"

Philpot:—"That is not material, neither any thing against St Augustine: for my church (whereof I am) should be ac-

treatise of Augustine exists bearing the title "de simplicitate credendi;" but the passage above quoted will be found to contain the several points to which the archbishop alludes. It is to be supposed therefore that the treatise "Contra Epist. Manich." was that to which he referred.]

counted universal, though it were but in ten persons, because it agreeth with the same that the apostles did universally plant."

York:—"I perceive you are an obstinate man in your opinion, and will not be taught: wherefore it is but lost labour to talk with you any longer. You are a member to be cut off."

Chichester:—"I have heard of you before, how you troubled the good bishop of Winchester; and now I see in you that I have heard."

Philpot:—"I trust you see no evil in me by this: I desire of you a sure ground to build my faith on; and if you shew me none, I pray you speak not ill of him that meaneth well."

Chichester:—"Thou art as impudent a fellow as I have communed withal."

Philpot:—"That is spoken uncharitably, my lord, to blaspheme him whom you cannot justly reprove."

Chichester:—"Why, thou art not God: blasphemy is counted a rebuke to Godward, and not to man."

Philpot:—"Yes, it may be as well verified of an infamy laid to a man, speaking in God's cause, as you now do lay it unto me, for speaking freely the truth afore God, to maintain your vain religion. You are void of all good ground. I perceive you are blind guides, and leaders of the blind; and therefore (as I am bound to tell you) very hypocrites, tyrannously persecuting the truth, which otherwise by just order you are by no means able to convince. Your own doctors and testimonies which you bring, be evidently against you, and yet you will not see the truth."

Chichester:—"Have we this thank for our good will, in coming to instruct thee?"

Philpot:—"My lords, you must bear with me, since I speak in Christ's cause: and because his glory is defaced, and his people cruelly and wrongfully slain by you, because they will not consent to the dishonour of God and to hypocrisy with you; if I told you not your fault, it would be required at my hands in the day of judgment. Therefore know you, ye hypocrites indeed, that it is the Spirit of God that telleth you your sin, and not I. I pass not, I thank God, for all your cruelty: God forgive you, and give you grace to repent!"

"Veritas odium parit." The free heart of Philpot in telling truth.

And so they departed.

Another Talk the same day.

Another calling of Philpot before the bishop.

The same day at night before supper the bishop sent for me into his chapel, in the presence of archdeacon Harpsfield, Dr Chedsey, and other his chaplains, and his servants; at what time he said, "Master Philpot, I have by sundry means gone about to do you good, and I marvel you do so little consider it. By my truth, I cannot tell what to say to you. Tell me directly, whether you will be a conformable man, or no; and whereupon you chiefly stand."

Philpot:—"I have told your lordship oftentimes plain enough, whereon I stand chiefly, requiring a sure probation of the church whereunto you call me."

Harpsfield:—"St Austin, writing against the Donatists, declareth four special notes to know the church by: the consent of many nations, the faith of the sacraments confirmed by antiquity, succession of bishops, and universality."

London:—"I pray you, master archdeacon, fetch the book hither: it is a notable place, let him see it."

And the book was brought, and the bishop read it, demanding how I could answer the same.

Philpot:—"My lord, I like St Augustine's four points for the trial of the catholic church, whereof I am: for it can abide every point thereof together; which yours cannot do."

Harpsfield:—"Have not we succession of bishops in the see and church of Rome? Wherefore then do you deny our church to be the catholic church?"

Philpot:—"St Augustine doth not put succession of bishops only to be sufficient, but he added the use of the sacraments according to antiquity, and doctrine universally taught and received of most nations from the beginning of the primitive church, the which your church is far from. But my church can avouch all these better than yours: therefore by St Augustine's judgment, which you here bring, mine is the catholic church, and not yours."

Harpsfield and Chedsey:—"It is but folly, my lord, for you to reason with him; for he is irrecoverable."

Philpot:—"That is a good shift for you to run unto, when you be confounded in your own sayings, and have nothing

else to say; you are evidently deceived, and yet will not see it when it is laid to your face."

Here ende as manye of John Philpots examinations, as came to the printers handes, and as soone as the rest may be come by, thou shalt haue it, good reader, by the vvyll of God. In the meane tyme refresh thy selfe vvith this, praising god for the perseueraunce of this constant learned martyr, and pray hartily for the reste of Christes poore afflicted churche.

Geue God the glory.[1]

[1 This colophon concludes the account of Philpot's Examinations in the original form of a small and separate publication. What follows was added by Foxe, in his Acts and Monuments: it is here printed from his edition of 1597.]

Thus have I at large set forth as many of the said John Philpot's examinations and privy conferences as are yet come to light, being faithfully written with his own hand. And although he was divers other times after this examined, both openly in the consistory at Paul's, and also secretly in the bishop's house; yet what was there said is not yet sufficiently known, either because master Philpot was not himself suffered to write, or else for that his writings are by some kept close, and not brought forth, otherwise than as the bishop's registrar hath noted, whose handling of such matters because it is (either for fear or favour of his lord and master) very slender, little light of any true meaning can be gathered, especially in the behalf of the answerer: howbeit, such as it is, such thought I good to put forth; requiring the reader to judge hereof according to his answers in his former examinations.

The examinations of master Philpot in open judgment, by bishop Bonner, in the consistory at Paul's, on the 13th and 14th of December.

The bishop, having sufficiently taken his pleasure with master Philpot in his private talks, and seeing his zealous, learned, and immutable constancy, thought it now high time to rid his hands of him; and therefore on the 13th and 14th days of December, sitting judicially in the consistory at Paul's, he caused him to be brought thither before him and others, as it seemeth, more for order's sake, than for any good affection to justice and right judgment. The effect as well of which their two sundry proceedings, as also of one other, had the 11th day of the same month in his chapel, appears in a manner to be all one. The bishop therefore first speaking to master Philpot, said:—

Philpot called into open judgment.

"Master Philpot, amongst other things that were laid and objected unto you, these three things ye were especially charged and burdened withal. The first is, that you, being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, do refuse and will not come to be reconciled thereunto. The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry. And the third is, that you have spoken

Three special articles laid to master Philpot.

against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same. And according to the will and pleasure of the synod legative, ye have been oft by me invited and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church; which if ye will now willingly do, ye shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favour I can shew you. And now, to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore, if ye so refuse, I do ask of you, whether you have any cause that you can shew, why I should not now give sentence against you?"

Philpot:—"Under protestation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent judge, I say, touching your first objection concerning the catholic church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as touching the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, I never spake against the same. And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say, that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, whereunto you would have me to come: and in that time I have been many times sworn (as well in the reign of king Henry the eighth, as in the reign of good king Edward his son) against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; which oath I think that I am bound in my conscience to keep, *quia teneor reddere Domino juramentum.* But if you, or any of the synod, can by God's word persuade me that my said oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, faith, and religion, whereof you be now, I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable unto you; otherwise not."

Bonner with all his doctors not able to satisfy Philpot.

Bonner then, not able with all his learned doctors to accomplish this his offered condition, fell to persuading of him, as well by his accustomed vain promises, as also by bloody threatenings, to return to their church: to the which Philpot answered, "You, and all other of your sort, are hypocrites; and I would all the world did know your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry."

Upon these words, the bishop did for that time dismiss him, commanding that on Monday the 16th day of the same

month, between the hours of one and three in the afternoon, he should again be brought thither, there to have the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against him, if he remained then in his former constancy.

The last examination of master John Philpot, Dec. 16th.

At which day and time, master Philpot being there presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Lichfield, Bonner, bishop of London, began to talk in this manner.

Bishop Stokesley's prayer when he gave sentence upon any.

London:—"My lords, Stokesley my predecessor, when he went to give sentence against a heretic, used to make this prayer: *Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire, justitiæ veritatisque tuæ lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui christiana professione censentur, et illa respuere quæ huic inimica sint nomini, et ea quæ sint apta sectari, per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen*[1]. Which I will follow." And so he read it with a loud voice in Latin. To which master Philpot said, "I would ye would speak in English, that all men might hear and understand you; for Paul willeth that all things spoken in the congregation to edify should be spoken in a tongue that all men might understand."

[1 Cor. xiv. 5.]

Whereupon the bishop did read it in English: and when he came to these words, "to refuse those things which are foes to his name," Philpot said, "Then they all must turn away from you; for you are enemies to that name (meaning Christ's name), and God save us from such hypocrites as would have things in a tongue that men cannot understand."

Bishop Bonner prayeth against himself.

London:—"Whom do you mean?"

Philpot:—"You, and all other that be of your generation and sect. And I am sorry to see you sit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute justice, and to do nothing less, but deceive all men in this realm." And then turning himself unto the people, he further said, "Oh! all you gentlemen, beware of these men (meaning the bishops),

[1 This with a very slight verbal alteration will be found in the "Miss. Sarisb." The collect for the Second Sunday after Easter in the English "Book of Common Prayer" is an almost literal translation of the above form.]

and all their doings, which be contrary unto the primitive church. And I would know of you, my lord, by what authority you proceed against me."

London:—"Because I am bishop of London."

Philpot:—"Well, then ye are not my bishop, nor have I offended in your diocese. And moreover I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own law you ought not to proceed against me; especially being brought hither from another place by violence."

Bonner hath no authority to proceed against master Philpot.

London:—"Why, who sent you hither to me?"

Philpot:—"That did Dr Story and Dr Cook, with other the king and queen's commissioners. And, my lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own sheep, but ye must also meddle with other men's sheep?"

Then the bishop delivered to Philpot two books, one of the civil law, and the other of the canon, out of the which he would have proved that he had authority to proceed against him in such sort as he did. Master Philpot then, perusing the same, and seeing the small and slender proof that was there alleged, said unto the bishop, "I perceive your law and divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I would ye did know your own ignorance: but ye dance in a net, and think that no man doth see you." Hereupon they had much talk; but what it was, it is not yet known. At last Bonner spake unto him, and said, "Philpot, as concerning your objections against my jurisdiction, ye shall understand that both the civil and canon laws make against you; and as for your appeal, it is not allowed in this case: for it is written in the law, *A judice dispositionem juris exequente non est appellandum.*"

Philpot:—"My lord, it appeareth by your interpretation of the law, that ye have no knowledge therein, and that ye do not understand the law: for if ye did, ye would not bring in that text."

Bonner noted to be ignorant in the law.

Hereupon the bishop recited a law of the Romans, that it was not lawful for a Jew to keep a christian man in captivity, and to use him as a slave, laying then to the said Philpot's charge, that he did not understand the law, but did like a Jew. Whereunto Philpot answered, "No, I am no Jew, but you, my lord, are a Jew; for you profess Christ, and maintain anti-

christ: you profess the gospel, and maintain superstition; and ye be able to charge me with nothing."

London and other Bishops:—"With what can you charge us?"

Philpot:—"You are enemies to all truth; and all your doings be naught, full of idolatry, saving in the article of the Trinity."

The lord mayor, with the sheriffs, assistant to bishop Bonner against master Philpot.

Whilst they were thus debating the matter, there came thither Sir William Garret, knight, then mayor of London, Sir Martin Bowes, knight, and Thomas Leigh, then sheriffs of the same city, and sat down with the said bishops in the said consistory; where and what time bishop Bonner spake these words in effect as followeth: "Philpot, before the coming of my lord mayor, because I would not enter with you into the matter wherewith I have heretofore, and now intend to charge you withal, until his coming, I did rehearse unto you a prayer both in English and in Latin, which bishop Stokesley, my predecessor, used when he intended to proceed to give sentence against a heretic."

The three articles against John Philpot again repeated.

And here Bonner did again read the said prayer both in English, and also in Latin: which being ended, he spake again unto him, and said, "Philpot, amongst other, I have to charge you especially with three things. First, whereas you have fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but also by many and divers other catholic bishops, and other learned men, to return and come again to the same: and also you have been offered by me, that if you would so return, and confess your errors and heresies, you should be mercifully received, and have so much favour as I could shew unto you. The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abomination. And thirdly, that you have spoken and holden against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same."

This being spoken, the bishop recited unto him a certain exhortation in English, the tenor and form whereof is this.

Bishop Bonner's exhortation to John Philpot.

"Master Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence ye did fall in the time of the late schism here in this realm of England against the see apostolic of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the same catholic church, professing and promising to observe and keep to the best of your power the faith and christian religion observed and kept of all faithful people of the same: and moreover, if ye, which heretofore, especially in the years of our Lord 1553, 1554, 1555, or in one of them, have offended and trespassed grievously against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abominable, and likewise have offended and trespassed against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be there in the sacrament of the altar, affirming also withal material bread and material wine to be in the sacrament of the altar, and not the substance of the body and blood of Christ: if ye, I say, will be reconciled as is aforesaid, and will forsake your heresies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the sacrament of the mass, ye shall be mercifully received, and charitably used with as much favour as may be: if not, ye shall be reputed, taken, and judged for a heretic, (as ye be indeed.) Now do you choose what ye will do: you are counselled herein friendly and favourably."

The bishop's exhortation thus ended, master Philpot turned himself unto the lord mayor, and said; "To you, my lord mayor, bearing the sword, I speak: I am glad that it is my chance now to stand before that authority that hath defended the gospel and the truth of God's word. But I am sorry to see that the authority which representeth the king and queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the commandment of antichrist; and ye" [speaking to the bishops] "pretend to be the fellows of the apostles of Christ, and yet be the very antichrists and deceivers of the people. And I am glad that God hath given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ. Therefore, as touching your first objection, I say, that I am of the catholic

Philpot is of the catholic, not of the Babylonical, church.

church, whereof I was never out, and that your church (which ye pretend to be the catholic church) is the church of Rome, and so the Babylonical, and not the catholic church: of that church I am not. As touching your second objection, which is, that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass, I do say, that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice; for your sacrifice daily reiterated is a blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention: and that abominable sacrifice which ye set upon the altar, and use in your private masses instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry, and ye shall never prove it by God's word. Therefore ye have deceived the people with that your sacrifice of the mass, which ye make a masking. Thirdly, whereas you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar ye mean, whether it be the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone: and if ye call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone, then I defy your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ. And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up first by a pope.

Philpot speaketh not against the true sacrifice, but against the sacrifice set upon the altar, used in private masses.

Philpot denieth not the sacrament of the altar of the cross, but the sacrament of the stone he defieth.

"Now, as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in antichrist's name; prove me that to be of the catholic church (which ye shall never do), and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But ye are idolaters, and daily do commit idolatry. Ye be also traitors; for in your pulpits ye rail upon good kings, as king Henry, and king Edward his son, which have stood against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; against whom also I have taken an oath, which if ye can shew me by God's law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the king and queen's heart from your synagogue and church; for you do abuse that good queen."

Here the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield began to shew where the true church was, saying, "The true catholic church is set upon a high hill."

Dr Banes, bishop of Coventry, speaketh.

Philpot:—"Yea, at Rome, which is the Babylonical church."

Coventry:—"No, in our true catholic church are the apostles, evangelists, and martyrs; but before Martin Luther there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr of your church."

Philpot:—"Will ye know the cause why? Christ did prophesy that in the latter days there should come false prophets and hypocrites, as you be."

Coventry:—"Your church of Geneva, which ye call the catholic church, is that which Christ prophesied of."

Philpot:—"I allow the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same; for it is *una*, *catholica*, *et apostolica*, and doth follow the doctrine that the apostles did preach; and the doctrine taught and preached in king Edward's days was also according to the same. And are ye not ashamed to persecute me and others for your church's sake, which is Babylonical, and contrary to the true catholic church?" The church of England in king Edward's time.

And after this they had great conference together, as well out of the scriptures, as also out of the doctors. But when Bonner saw that by learning they were not able to convince master Philpot, he thought then by his defamations to bring him out of credit; and therefore, turning himself unto the lord mayor of London, he brought forth a knife and a bladder full of powder, and said:

"My lord, this man had a roasted pig brought unto him, and this knife was put secretly between the skin and the flesh thereof, and so was it sent him, being in prison. And also this powder was sent unto him, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat or drink; which powder was only to make ink to write withal: for when his keeper did perceive it, he took it and brought it unto me; which when I did see, I thought it had been gunpowder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poison, and so gave it to a dog; but it was not so. Then I took a little water, and it made as fair ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my lord, you may understand what a naughty fellow this is." Bonner chargeth him with false surmises.

Philpot:—"Ah, my lord! have you nothing else to charge me withal but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the church of Rome to be a catholic church?"

Articles concluded in Oxford and Cambridge. The catechism. The book of report of the disputation in the convocation-house.

Then the bishop brought forth a certain instrument, containing articles and questions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge, whereof you have mention before. Also he did exhibit two books in print; the one was the catechism made in king Edward's days, anno 1552, the other concerning the true report of the disputation in the convocation-house, mention whereof is above expressed. Moreover he did bring forth, and laid to master Philpot's charge, two letters; the one touching Bartlet Green, the other containing godly exhortations and comforts, which both were written unto him by some of his godly friends; the tenor whereof we thought here also to exhibit.

A letter exhibited by Bonner, written by some friend of master Philpot's, and sent to him, concerning the handling of master Green in bishop Bonner's house at London.

You shall understand that master Green came unto the bishop of London on Sunday last, where he was courteously received; for what policy, the sequel declareth. His entertainment for one day or two was to dine at my lord's own table, or else to have his meat from thence. During those days he lay in Dr Chedsey's chamber, and was examined. Albeit, in very deed, the bishop earnestly and faithfully promised many right worshipful men (who were suitors for him, but to him unknown), that he in no case should be examined; before which, master Fecknam would have had him in his friendly custody, if he would have desired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refused. And in that the bishop objected against him singularity and obstinacy, his answer thereunto was thus: "To avoid all suspicion thereof, although I myself am young, and utterly unlearned in respect of the learned (and yet I understand, I thank my Lord), yet let me have such books as I shall require: and if I, by God's Spirit, do not thereby answer all your books and objections contrary thereto, I will assent to you." Whereunto the bishop, and his, assented, permitting him at the first to have such books: who at sundry times have reasoned with him, and have found him so strong and rife in the scripture and godly fathers,

Bonner breaketh promise.

Master Green strong in scriptures and doctors.

that, since, they have not only taken from him such liberty of books, but all other books, not leaving him so much as the new testament. Since, they have baited and used him most cruelly. This master Fecknam reported, saying farther, that he never heard the like young man, and so perfect. What shall become further of him, God knoweth; but death I think, for he remaineth more and more willing to die, as I understand. Concerning your bill[1], I shall confer with others therein, knowing that the same court is able to redress the same: and yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will speak therein, or prefer the same, because it concerneth spiritual things. Notwithstanding, I will ascertain you thereof; committing you to the Holy Ghost, who keep you and us all, as his.

Fecknam's report of Green.

Your own, &c.

The copy of another letter written by the faithful and christian-hearted lady, the lady Vane, to master Philpot, exhibited likewise by bishop Bonner.

Hearty thanks rendered unto you, my well-beloved in Christ, for the book ye sent me, wherein I find great consolations, and, according to the doctrine thereof, do prepare my cheeks to the strikers, and my womanish back to the burdens of reproof. And so in the strength of my God I trust to leap over the wall: for his sweetness overcometh me daily, and maketh all these apothecary drugs of the world even medicinal-like in my mouth. For the continuance whereof, I beseech thee, my dear fellow-soldier, make thy faithful prayer for me, that I may with a strong and gladsome conscience finish my course, and obtain the reward, though it be no whit due to my work. I am not content that you so often gratify me with thanks for that which is none worthy, but duty on my part, and small relief to you. But if you would love me so much that I might supply your lacks, then would I think ye believed my offers to be such as agreed with my heart. And for the short charges ye speak of, the means are not so pleasant, if God (whom my trust is in)

[1] This bill was a supplication to be offered up in the parliament.]

[Eccles. iii. 1.] will otherwise prepare: but Solomon saith, "All things here have their time;" you to-day, and I to-morrow; and so the end of Adam's line is soon run out. The mighty God give us his grace, that during this time his glory be not defaced through our weakness! Because you desire to shew yourself a worthy soldier, if need so require, I will supply your request for the scarf ye wrote of, that ye may present my handywork before your Captain, that I be not forgotten in the odours of incense, which our beloved Christ offereth for his own: to whom I bequeath both our bodies and souls.

Your own in the Lord,

F. E.

Over and besides these letters, the bishops did also bring forth a supplication made by master Philpot unto the high court of parliament, whereof mention is made in the first of the two letters last mentioned; the copy whereof doth here ensue, as followeth:

To the king and queen's majesties' highnesses, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled.

In most humble wise complaineth unto this honourable court of parliament John Philpot, clerk, that whereas there was by the queen's highness a parliament called in the first year of her gracious reign, and after the old custom a convocation of the clergy, your suppliant then being one of the said convocation-house, and matters there rising upon the using of the sacraments, did dispute in the same, knowing that there all men had and have free speech, and ought not to be after troubled for any thing there spoken: and yet, that notwithstanding, not long after the said parliament, your said suppliant (without any act or matter) was commanded to prison to the king's bench by the late lord chancellor, where he hath remained ever since, until now of late that my lord the bishop of London hath sent for your said suppliant to examine him (being none of his diocese) upon cer-

tain matters, wherein they would have your orator to declare his conscience; which, the said bishop saith, he hath authority to do, by reason of an act of parliament made in the first and second years of the king and queen's majesties' reigns, for the reviving of three statutes made against them that hold any opinion against the catholic faith: whereby he affirmeth, that every ordinary may, *ex officio*, examine every man's conscience. And for that your said orator[1] hath and doth refuse, that the said bishop of London hath any authority over your said orator, for that he is neither his diocesan, nor hath published, preached, nor held any opinion against the catholic faith (notwithstanding the said bishop of London detaineth him in the coal-house, in the stocks, without either bed or any other thing to lie upon but straw), and for that your said orator cannot appeal for his relief from the said bishop to any other judge, but the same bishop may refuse the same by their law, and therefore hath no succour and help, but by this high court of parliament, for the explanation of the said act; therefore may it please you, that it may be enacted by the king and queen's majesties, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that no bishop nor ordinary shall commit or detain in prison any suspected person or persons for the catholic faith, except he or they have spoken, written, or done some manifest act against the catholic faith, and the same to be lawfully proved against every such person or persons by the testimony of two lawful witnesses, to be brought before the said person or persons so accused, before he or they shall either be committed to prison, or convicted for any such offence or offences; the said former statute, made in the said first and second year of our said sovereign lord and lady notwithstanding: whereby your said orator shall not only be set at liberty, and divers others now remaining in prison; but also the blood of divers of the queen's majesty's true and faithful subjects preserved.

The strait handling of Philpot in the bishop's coal-house.

[1 'Orator' seems to have the sense of *beadsman*; one who 'as in duty bound, will ever *pray*': from the Lat. 'oro,' to pray.]

The condemnation of the worthy martyr of God, John Philpot.

These books, letters, supplications, and other matters being thus read, the bishop demanded of him, If the book intituled, "The true Report of the Disputation," &c. were of his penning, or not? Whereunto Philpot answered, that it was a good and true book, and of his own penning and setting forth.

The bishops, waxing now weary, and being not able by any sufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell by fair and flattering speech to persuade with him; promising, that if he would revoke his opinions, and come home again to their Romish and Babylonical church, he should not only be pardoned that which was past, but also that they would with all favour and cheerfulness of heart receive him again as a true member thereof. Which words when Bonner saw would take no place, he demanded of master Philpot (and that with a charitable affection, I warrant you), whether he had any just cause to allege, why he should not condemn him as a heretic.

"Well," quoth master Philpot, "your idolatrous sacrament, which you have found out, ye would fain defend; but ye cannot, nor ever shall."

Sentence of condemnation read against Philpot.

In the end the bishop, seeing his unmoveable stedfastness in the truth, did pronounce openly the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words, *Teque etiam tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, pertinacem, et impœnitentem, &c.* master Philpot said, "I thank God that I am a heretic out of your cursed church: I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings; and let all men beware of your bloody church."

His words in reading it.

Moreover, while Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, "My lord, my lord, know of him first, whether he will recant or no." Then Bonner said (full like himself), "O let him alone;" and so read forth the sentence.

Philpot delivered to the sheriffs.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the sheriffs; and so two officers brought him through the bishop's house

into Paternoster-row, and there his servant met him, and when he saw him he said, "Ah! dear master."

Then master Philpot said to his man, "Content thyself, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again."

Philpot brought to Newgate: his man permitted to enter with him.

And so the officers thrust him away, and had his master to Newgate; and as he went, he said to the people, "Ah! good people; blessed be God for this day!" And so the officers delivered him to the keeper. Then his man thrust to go in after his master; and one of the officers said unto him, "Hence, fellow! what wouldst thou have?" And he said, "I would go speak with my master." Master Philpot then turned him about, and said to him, "To-morrow thou shalt speak with me."

Talk between Philpot and Alexander the keeper.

Then the under-keeper said to master Philpot, "Is this your man?" and he said, "Yea." So he did license his man to go in with him; and master Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a little time, until Alexander the chief keeper did come unto him; who, at his entering, greeted him with these words: "Ah!" said he, "hast not thou done well to bring thyself hither?" "Well," said master Philpot, "I must be content, for it is God's appointment: and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour; for you and I have been of old acquaintance." "Well," said Alexander, "I will shew thee gentleness and favour, so thou wilt be ruled by me." Then said master Philpot, "I pray you, shew me what you would have me to do." He said, "If you would recant, I will shew you any pleasure I can." "Nay," said master Philpot, "I will never recant, whilst I have my life, that which I have spoken, for it is most certain truth; and in witness hereof I will seal it with my blood." Then Alexander said, "This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics." Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear, for that he would not follow his wicked mind.

Good Philpot loaden with irons, because he would not recant at Alexander's bidding.

Alexander taketh Philpot's tokens from his man.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that master Philpot had given his man money. And Alexander said to his man, "What money hath thy master given thee?" He answered, "My master hath given me none." "No!" said Alexander, "hath he given thee none? That I will know,

for I will search thee." "Do with me what you list, and search me all that you can," quoth his servant: "he hath given me a token or two to send to his friends, as to his brother and sisters." "Ah!" said Alexander unto master Philpot, "thou art a maintainer of heretics: thy man should have gone to some of thine affinity; but he shall be known well enough." "Nay," said master Philpot, "I do send it to my friends: there he is, let him make answer to it. But, good master Alexander, be so much my friend, that these irons may be taken off." "Well," said Alexander, "give me my fees, and I will take them off: if not, thou shalt wear them still." Then said master Philpot, "Sir, what is your fee?" He said, four pound was his fees. "Ah!" said master Philpot, "I have not so much: I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison." "What wilt thou give me then?" said Alexander. "Sir," said he, "I will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for; or else I will lay my gown to gage[1]. For the time is not long (I am sure), that I shall be with you; for the bishop said I should be soon dispatched."

Alexander the cruel keeper requireth four pounds of Philpot for his irons.

Then said Alexander unto him, "What is that to me?" And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into limbo. And so his commandment was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would have a groat.

Philpot had into limbo.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore master Philpot said to his man, "Go to master sheriff, and shew him how I am used, and desire master sheriff to be good unto me." And so his servant went straightway, and took an honest man with him.

And when they came to master sheriff (which was master Macham), and shewed him how master Philpot was handled in Newgate, the sheriff, hearing this, took his ring[2] off from his finger, and delivered it unto that honest man which came with master Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander the keeper, and command him to take off his irons, and to

Master Macham, sheriff, a good man, sendeth his ring to take off Philpot's irons, and to restore the man's tokens.

[1] To gage: to be a *pledge*.]

[2] The ring, from the most ancient times, contained the seal of office. Vid. Gen. xli. 42; Esth. iii. 10, 12; viii. 2.]

handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him. And when they came again to the said Alexander, and told their message from the sheriff, Alexander took the ring, and said, "Ah! I perceive that master sheriff is a bearer with him[3], and all such heretics as he is: therefore to-morrow I will shew it to his betters." Yet at ten of the clock he went in to master Philpot, where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had taken before from his servant.

Upon Tuesday at supper, being the 17th day of December, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade master Philpot make him ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Master Philpot answered and said, "I am ready: God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection!" And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks, that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

Philpot warned by the sheriffs to prepare him against the next day to the fire.

In the morning the sheriffs came, according to the order, about eight of the clock, and called for him, and he most joyfully came down unto them. And there his man did meet him, and said, "Ah! dear master, farewell." His master said unto him, "Serve God, and he will help thee." And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, "What! will ye make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot." But first, coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, saying these words, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!"

Philpot brought to the place of martyrdom.

And when he was come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer a most vile death upon the cross for me?" And then with an obedient heart full meekly he said the 106th, the 107th, and the 108th psalms. And when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, "What have you done for me?"—and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every of them money.

Philpot's words going to the stake.

Philpot's prayers.

He giveth the officers money.

[3] Is a "bearer with" him: has a *leaning towards* him.]

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire unto that constant martyr, who the 18th day of December, in the midst of the fiery flames, yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and full like a lamb gave up his breath, his body being consumed into ashes.

[A.D. 1555.] The writings and examinations of John Philpot, by the providence of Almighty God, preserved.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, the life and doings of this learned and worthy soldier of the Lord, John Philpot, with all his examinations that came to our hands, first penned and written with his own hand, being marvellously preserved from the sight and hand of his enemies; who by all manner of means sought not only to stop him from all writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written; for the which cause he was many times stripped and searched in the prison of his keeper: but yet so happily these his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or else his keeper's eyes so blinded, that, notwithstanding all this malicious purpose of the bishops, they are yet remaining, and come to light.

A prayer to be said at the stake, of all them that God shall account worthy to suffer for his sake.

A godly prayer to be said at the time of martyrdom.

Merciful God and Father, to whom our Saviour Christ approached in his fear and need by reason of death, and found comfort; gracious God and most bounteous Christ, on whom Stephen called in his extreme need, and received strength; most benign Holy Spirit, which in the midst of all crosses and death didst comfort the apostle St Paul with more consolations in Christ, than he felt sorrows and terrors; have mercy upon me miserable, vile, and wretched sinner, which now draw near the gates of death, deserved both in soul and body eternally, by reason of manifold, horrible, old and new transgressions, which to thine eyes, O Lord, are open and known. O be merciful unto me, for the bitter death and blood-shedding of thine own only Son Jesus Christ. And though thy justice doth require in respect of my sins, that

now thou shouldst not hear me,—measuring me in the same measure with which I have measured thy majesty, contemning thy daily calls—yet let thy mercy, which is above all thy works and wherewith the earth is filled, let thy mercy (I say) prevail towards me, through and for the mediation of Christ our Saviour. And for whose sake, in that it hath pleased thee to bring me forth now as one of his witnesses, and a record-bearer of thy verity and truth taught by him, to give my life there-for (to which dignity I do acknowledge, dear God, that there was never any so unworthy and so unmeet, no, not the thief that hanged with him on the cross); I most humbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldst accordingly aid, help, and assist me with thy strength and heavenly grace, that with Christ thy Son I may find comfort, with Stephen I may see thy presence and gracious power, with Paul, and all others, which for thy name's sake have suffered affliction and death, I may find so present with me thy gracious consolations, that I may by my death glorify thy holy name, propagate and ratify thy verity, comfort the hearts of the heavy, confirm thy church in thy verity, convert some that are to be converted; and so depart forth of this miserable world, where I do nothing but daily heap sin upon sin, and so enter into the fruition of thy blessed mercy; whereof now give and increase in me a lively trust, sense, and feeling, wherethrough the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the pangs of sin, the darts of Satan, and the dolours of hell, may never depress me, but may be driven away through the working of that most gracious Spirit; which now plenteously endue me withal, that through the same Spirit I may offer (as I now desire to do in Christ by him) myself wholly, soul and body, to be a lively sacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy sight, dear Father! whose I am, and always have been, even from my mother's womb, yea, even before the world was made; to whom I commend myself, soul and body, family and friends, country and all the whole church, yea, even my very enemies, according to thy good pleasure; beseeching thee entirely to give once more to this realm of England the blessing of thy word again, with godly peace, to the teaching and setting forth of the same. O dear Father! now give me grace to come unto thee. Purge and so purify me by this fire in

He prayeth for restoring of the gospel and peace in England.

Christ's death and passion through thy Spirit, that I may be a burnt-offering of a sweet smell in thy sight, which livest and reignest with the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore world without end, Amen.

THE DISPUTATION

IN THE

CONVOCATION-HOUSE,

OCTOBER, A.D. 1553.

[NOTICES

(BY THE EDITOR)

OF THE

PRINCIPAL DISPUTANTS IN THE CONVOCATION

SUMMONED

BY QUEEN MARY,

AT

ST PAUL'S, LONDON, OCTOBER, 6, 1553.

ROMISH DISPUTANTS.

Prolocutor.

HUGH WESTON, a native of Leicestershire, entered at Balliol College, Oxford, in 1526, and subsequently became a fellow of that society. He was elected rector of Lincoln College in 1538; and two years afterwards was appointed Margaret Professor of Divinity; and subsequently archdeacon of Colchester, and rector of Clyff in Kent. In the first year of queen Mary he was made dean of Westminster, but quitted that dignity to make way for abbot Feckenham. The abilities of Weston as a disputant marked him out as a fit person to be the prolocutor of the convocation appointed by queen Mary in 1553; and his fame recommended him for the further preferment of the deanery of Windsor, which he obtained in 1556. Of this dignity he was deprived by cardinal Pole, upon a criminal prosecution; and when he threatened to go to Rome to appeal, he was seized and committed to the Tower, where he died in 1558, and was buried in a church belonging to the Savoy. He has been described as "one of the best preachers and orators of his time."

Dr Moreman.

JOHN MOREMAN, of Exeter College, Oxford, took the degree of B.A. January 29, 1508; that of M.A. in July, 1512; and D.D. December 16, 1529. "This person, who was very learned in his time, and hath (as 'tis thought) written several matters of his faculty, but lost, was born at Southole in Devon; and, after he had left his college, became vicar of Mayhanet, in Cornwall; where, with much labour, he taught the parishioners to say the Lord's prayer, the belief, and the ten commandments in the English tongue, about the latter end of the reign of king Henry the eighth, being the first of all that did so

in that country." He was afterwards dean of Exeter; and, (if Foxe's account may be received as authentic) being coadjutor to the bishop, was made bishop of that see after his decease. This coadjutorship was in October, 1554; but Voysey, the then bishop of Exeter, lived until 1555, a year longer than Moreman, as appears from Ant. Wood, who says that Raynolds was "dean of Bristol for a time in 1553; and dean of Exeter in the year following, on the death of Dr Moreman."

Dr Chedsey. WILLIAM CHEADSEY (or Chedsey), born in Somersetshire, was admitted scholar at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1528, and became fellow of the college in 1553. Bishop Bonner, "having a special respect for his learning and zeal for the Roman Catholic religion," made him his chaplain, and archdeacon of Middlesex. In 1546 (having about that time taken the degree of D.D.) he subscribed the thirty-four articles, and four years after disputed with Peter Martyr in the divinity school, "from which time he seemed so moderate in his religion in the remaining part of the reign of Edward the Sixth, that the protestants took him to be one of their number." In 1550 he preached openly in Oxford "against the steps of the Reformation that were made and making;" and was accordingly committed to the Marshalsea prison, where he lay until Nov. 11, 1551. Mary's accession procuring his freedom, he was in 1557 made a canon of Christ Church, and the following year president of Corpus Christi College, of both which dignities he was deprived in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, for refusing to acknowledge her supremacy. He was committed to the Fleet prison, where after lying for several years he died about 1574.

Dr Watson. THOMAS WATSON, D.D., was master of St John's College, Cambridge, and chaplain to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. In 1553, he was installed dean of Durham by bishop Tonstall, on the deprivation of Robert Horne; and, in August, 1557, was consecrated bishop of Lincoln, from which see being removed by the authority of parliament in the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, as being an enemy to reformation and the queen's supremacy, he was imprisoned in and near London for about twenty years. At length in 1580, being sent, with John Feckenham, prisoner to Wisbeach, in Cambridgeshire, he continued there to the time of his death, and was buried in the church of that town, September 27, 1584. He has been described, (erroneously, as the editor of Ant. Wood thinks) as the author of a translation of the Antigone of Sophocles and other poetical pieces; Thomas Watson, a native of London, being the real author. "In his elder years, being then of a sour disposition, as

one saith, and learned in deep divinity, but surly with an austere gravity, as another tells us, he published several matters of divinity."

Dr Perne. ANDREW PERNE, (according to Ant. Wood) was educated at Peter House, Cambridge, of which college he was subsequently fellow and master. But Baker, in his MS. account of St John's College, Cambridge, says of him, that "he was first fellow of St John's, afterwards of Queens' College, but never fellow of Peter House." The same author relates of Perne, that he was "Whitgift's particular friend and patron, whilst Whitgift was fellow of Peter House; protected him in queen Mary's time, and did him other good offices, which were always remembered." Dr Perne was one of the six eminent preachers chosen to be the king's chaplains in ordinary, in 1551; and, in 1559, was made dean of Ely. He is spoken of as "a mutable man in his religion, and of a facetious nature, yet a great Mæcenas of learning." He died at Lambeth, and was buried in the chancel of the parish church[1].

This man is to be distinguished from one who had both his names, and was a fellow of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, and afterwards minister of Wilby, in Northamptonshire; who was also a frequent preacher before the long parliament at Westminster, in 1640. Yet another ANDREW PERNE (LL.D.) is found upon record, an inhabitant of West Wratting, in Cambridgeshire, who died in 1680.

Dr Pye. WILLIAM PYE, born in Suffolk, was elected fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1529. He studied physic, was thrice proctor of the University, and subsequently took the degree of D.D. He was made archdeacon of Berkshire in October, 1545; and in the reign of Edward VI. shewed signs of being a favourer of the Reformation; but on Mary's accession he changed his mind, and early in her reign was made dean of Chichester and prebendary of Lytton in Wells Cathedral, with which he united the rectory of Chedzoy, in Somersetshire. "When this learned person and celebrated preacher died," says Wood, "unless in 1557, I know not; nor any thing else, only an epigram written upon him by a poet of his time and acquaintance, which shall serve for his epitaph:

> 'Cum pia vita siet, pia cum doceasque popellum,
> Jure videre mihi nomine reque pius.'"
>
> (Ant. Wood, Ath. Ox. i. 248.)

[1 Pollanus, in the preface to his Latin version of the Disputation, says of Perne, "This man, though he had, in an unguarded manner, subscribed to the proceedings of this synod, afterwards, however, took an opportunity of declaring his assent to the truth, and disputed on the fourth day."]

PROTESTANT DISPUTANTS.

Dean of Rochester.

"WALTER PHILIPS, the last prior of Rochester, made a surrender of his convent into the king's hands in March, 1540; who, ejecting the monks, erected a new society in this church, to consist of a dean and six prebendaries, and constituted the said Walter Philips the first dean. He died in 1570." (Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Angl. p. 252.)

Described as dean of Exeter.

WALTER HADDON was originally a member of the university of Cambridge, as it would appear from the words of Ant. Wood, who says of Dr Richard Coxe, "At Cambridge he was esteemed a good scholar, and a better poet than Dr Walter Haddon, who called him master, as having been either his scholar or his servant." From the authority, however, of the same antiquary, it is evident that, at some period of his life, (the latter part, probably,) he belonged to Oxford, since Wood says of Dr Owen Ogelthorp, that in 1553 he "was elected again president" of Magdalen College, "having resigned that place about a year before, to make room for Dr Walter Haddon."

But it is an error, (of Foxe, probably,) to call Haddon dean of Exeter, as it is clear from ecclesiastical records, that Dr Moreman held that dignity at the time of the "Disputation in the Convocation-House."

Archdeacon of Hereford.

RICHARD CHEVNEY (or Cheney) born within the diocese of London, was a Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; was ordained subdeacon Feb. 24, 1531; and priest, Sept. 21 of the following year: he was made archdeacon of Hereford, in the year 1551, and in November, 1553, having before that time taken the degree of B.D. was admitted to the fifth prebend in the cathedral church of Gloucester; and was made bishop of that see in 1562, when it had lain vacant more than three years; liberty being allowed him at the same time to keep the bishopric of Bristol, *in commendam*, with Gloucester. He was deprived of his spiritualities in Mary's time for being addicted to the opinions of Luther. Early in Elizabeth's reign (1560) he was made by her first canon of the fourth stall in Westminster, a dignity which he kept until 1562. After being bishop of Gloucester for three years, he was incorporated D.D. of Oxford. Goodman, one of his successors in the see of Gloucester, wondered "why his master William Camden should say that the said Richard Cheyney was 'Luthero addictissimus,' whereas it was certain that he was a papist, and bred up his servants papists, as he had been informed by one of them with whom he had spoken. He tells us also that it doth appear upon record in the Arches, that he was suspended for

popery and died so suspended, and never would make any recantation. He was buried in his cathedral church of Gloucester; but whether ever any monument was put over his grave, I know not." (Ant. Wood, ii. 791.) But this opinion of Goodman must be regarded as erroneous, since in a letter written from Rome to the bishop, Nov. 1571, by Edmond Campian, he urged him to embrace openly the Romish faith, ("*vehementer illum ad papismum amplexandum hortatur,*") and tells him that otherwise his hands, which had given pretended orders to many young men, would be burnt "in hell flames." (Wood, *i.* 473.) He died April 25, 1578-9.

JOHN AYLMER, (or Elmer,) descended from an ancient and considerable family in Norfolk, passed a period of his youth in Oxford, but took a degree in arts (probably M.A.) at Cambridge. He was chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, and tutor to Lady Jane Grey; and was appointed to the archdeaconry of Stow in 1553; of which, however, he was deprived before he had held it a year. The same cause which led to the forfeiture of his archdeaconry, impelled him to seek a voluntary exile in Germany, in which country he remained until the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth, by whom he was appointed one of the Protestant disputants against seven Romanist divines. He was made archdeacon of Lincoln, in 1573, and consecrated bishop of London, March 24, 1576; which see he enjoyed for eighteen years, dying at Fulham, June 3, 1594. He was buried in St Paul's cathedral. "He was a person of learning and resolution, governed with vigour, and was strict in requiring conformity. Part of his character, which has been touched already, is comprehended in these two verses upon his monument: Archdeacon of Stow.

'Ter senos annos præsul; semel exul, et idem
Bis pugil in causa religionis erat.'"

Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. ix. p. 179.

THOMAS YOUNG[1], a native of Pembrokeshire, entered at Broadgate Hall, (now Pembroke College,) Oxford, in 1528. He pursued the study of civil law for some years, having taken his degrees in that faculty; though he subsequently entered into holy orders. He was elected principal of his hall, and afterwards precentor of the cathedral church of St David's, probably about the year 1542. This latter preferment, (and doubtless the headship of Broadgate Hall with it, if he retained the latter post so long,) he resigned in 1553, when he fled into Germany; Precentor of St David's.

[1 Pollanus remarks, that though Young took no part in the "Disputation," yet he was one of six who refused to sign his name as assenting to the acts of the synod.]

there remaining until the next reign opened. Returning to England, he was made bishop of St David's, Jan. 21, 1559; and was translated thence to York, either the next, or subsequent year; and was also appointed president of the queen's councils in the north of England. He took the degree of D.C.L., but not (as it seems) until the year 1564, when he had been archbishop at least three years. He died June 26, 1568; and was buried at the east end of the choir of York minster.]

[THERE is extant a Latin translation of the "Disputation in the Convocation-house" by Valerandus Pollanus, whose title-page runs thus:

"Vera Expositio Disputationis institutæ mandato D. Mariæ Reginæ Angl. Franc. et Hibern. &c. in Synodo Ecclesiastica, Londoni, in Comitiis regni ad 18 Octob. Anno 1553.

His accessit Reverendiss. in Christo patris ac Domini D. Archiepiscopi Cantuariens. epistola apologetica ex Anglico autographo latina facta.

Et, Precatio ad deum quam Rex Edvard. VI. habuit cum ageret animam.

1. Joan. 4.
Probate spiritus, an ex Deo sint.
S. D. S. M.
1554."

The Latin of Pollanus is a strictly literal translation of Foxe's English, with scarcely any deviation therefrom. Being a translation, it possesses no authority which could make the reprinting of it in this work important, or even interesting: it contains some marginal notes of no historical value, as elucidating facts; but, for the most part, exclamations and running remarks. Some of these, as describing the feelings of a contemporary writer, have a measure of interest, and may be consulted in the original. It has been thought well, however, to give, in this place, an English version of V. Pollanus's Preface to his translation; including king Edward's dying prayer.]

PREFACE TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

"When I left England, not long ago, there fell into my hands a little book, in which were set forth the Acts of the disputation at Paul's church, in the recent pretended convocation held by the papists: and though I met with nothing in it which I had not before heard while I was in London from men of high character, and whose report might be trusted, it occurred to me that I owed a debt to the church and realm of England for the kindly entertainment I had received; and, accordingly, I began to muse by what act of service I might shew that my mind was not forgetful of the kindness that had been shewn me. Now since it appeared to me that the publishing of this Disputation was a matter of interest to the whole church, I easily prevailed upon myself to put this little work into Latin: it would also supply a worthy occupation to beguile the weariness of the journey and the inns. For I think that all are interested in knowing under what tyranny, and by what contrivances, a few months ago, the church of England was well nigh overwhelmed; to the end that all men, in public and private, may be the more earnest in committing this church to God in prayer, and may also learn thereby seriously to fear God. In England has recently been displayed, (next to Germany,) God's great judgment; and how great is his displeasure when his word and true religion are treated with dishonour: for our God is a God that taketh no pleasure in wickedness; extremely jealous of his honour; and one who cannot long endure to be profaned by hypocrites under cover of the gospel, and who will not permit godless men and idolaters to go at last unpunished for thus casting away from them, or pouring contempt upon, the knowledge of salvation and the truths of the gospel.

Therefore it should appear the less wonderful to all, that God should give proofs of his displeasure, whether towards his church, when its members by pravity of life and corruption of manners disgrace the profession of the gospel; or towards any people, for despising the riches of the kingdom of heaven which have been offered to, and thrust upon, them. Although, in such calamities, ungodly men usually insult over the true church, and delight themselves yet more in their superstition and idol-folly; nevertheless the doctrine and religion of the gospel is true, though some of its professors for their ungodliness fall under the just judgment of God: forasmuch as the word of God endureth for ever, though the heavens should fall with a crash, or the earth and all created things should come to nought. The doctrine or superstition of the popish or Mahometan sect is not a whit more true, because those sects have stood for many years in a flourishing condition, as respects both wealth and power, and have far exceeded, [in such matters,] the true church of Christ: for as their head is Satan, a "liar and murderer from the beginning," whom God permits to hold the principality of this world, that he may enrich his own children with abundance of earthly things in this life, and entice them with the baits of such allurements; he scarcely ever lies in wait where true religion and doctrine are extinguished, but keeps a firm hold upon his own by giving them every kind of success; and thus permits each of them to live by his own measure, never reproving their unholy ways, until he has completely drawn them into eternal and sudden destruction with himself. Whereas God, who is truth and life itself, forasmuch as he has decreed to make his elect partakers of that life and of his own glory, as a kind parent and true friend, does not flatter that at last he may destroy them; but on the contrary he winnows, as by a fan, those who are destined to be partakers of his kingdom, that by a process of cleansing discipline he may wipe away and purge off the impurity which yet adheres to them: and this is the reason that

he visits his church with severity, lest his holy name should be evil spoken of by his enemies, if he should frequently suffer such faults in his own people. Moreover, Satan, the immortal enemy of the church, is often permitted by God to vex and harass the church, hoping by this way to allure some from the fold of Christ into his own sty; and God allows it, that the weakness of his people may turn to his praise, and that their patience, accompanied by faith, may be the more conspicuous. For it has been appointed to that old serpent and his members, from the beginning, that they should only creep on the ground in a degraded state, and lick the dust; that is, be filled with earthly things; whereas meanwhile to the godly heaven is promised, that they "in heart and mind may thither ascend," and not linger on the earth. All you, therefore, who would be enrolled under the name of Christ, I would entreat to learn at length true righteousness, being admonished by these severe examples; and worship the true God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and do not any more hereafter estimate the religion or true doctrine of Christ by the issue of things external; lest your portion be with Jeroboam, Sennacherib, wicked Jezebel, and their followers, if your own prosperity, and not a desire to advance the glory of the one living God and Almighty Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, be the motive that stirs you; or if you transfer his praise, either wholly or in part, to your own arm, or to your idols of silver, gold, stone, wood, and such like *panaceas*[1].

For though God sometimes punishes severely the members of his church, yet it is not to be supposed that the church of antichrist is more holy than Christ's true church, in which, since the Holy Spirit by the ministry of the word is continually reproving sin, the smallest offences are presently made manifest, whereas the foulest transgressions among those that belong to antichrist are not only not noticed,

[1 The word in the original is *panaceis*, the spirit of which might perhaps be better expressed by *quackeries*.]

but are the occasion of laughter and sport, because their God Satan is delighted therewith. Let any one who chooses weigh the manners of either church, and he will say that I do not state what is false, whatever orders in the church he may compare together. But he will find in the clerical order especially, that in the papists reigns the devil, but in the others Christ himself; though I do not deny that the latter too are but men.

The blessed God grant that these now most renowned kingdoms of England and Germany may under these stripes return to a better mind; so that, entirely renouncing the ungodliness of idolatry and an unholy life, they may approve themselves faithful servants of God: and upon all other may God cast such bright beams, that they may be able to emerge out of darkness to the true light of the gospel. Read the following account, most dearly beloved brother in Christ, with an attentive mind and an upright judgment, that you may be enabled to quit the lie and wisely embrace the truth. And be not displeased, I entreat you, with the humbleness of my style: my aim has been truth and the edification of the godly: the 'nature of the subject forbids that it should be embellished; it is enough that it be clearly set forth[2].'

Farewell. At the inn, Jan. 28, in the year 1554, since Christ took upon him our flesh of the substance of the Virgin Mary, which was 2515 years from the slaughter of the priests of Jezebel. May the Lord in like manner punish the blasphemies of his name, and the cruel treatment of his people, his religion, and his truth, by the more than Jezebelitish papists, who are striving afresh to place on the necks of the people the popish yoke, and would gladly do so with twice, thrice, or four times the force of former occasions.

Your hearty well-wisher,

V. POLLANUS.

[2 "Ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri."]

THE prayer of the most sacred and innocent prince Edward the sixth, king of England, France, and Ireland, which he poured out to God in the midst of his meditations, with closed eyes, a little before he breathed his last, in the seventeenth year of his age, and seventh of his reign; in the year of Christ, 1553.

"O Lord God, take me out of this most wretched and most troublous life, and receive me into the assembly of thy elect: yet, not what I will, but thy will alone be done. Lord, I commend my spirit to thee. O thou, my Lord, how happy and blessed would be my condition, if I were with thee! but for the sake of thy elect preserve my life, and restore me to my former health, that I may be able faithfully to serve thee. Ah, my Lord, be kind and gracious to thy people, and save the kingdom of thy inheritance! Ah, Lord God, preserve thy elect people of England! Ah, my Lord God, defend this thy realm, and protect it from popery, and maintain the true religion and pure worship of thy name; that I and my people may be exalted to praise and celebrate thy holy name. Amen."

After three hours he gave up his soul to God with these words and this short prayer:

"My strength is now failing me: Lord, have mercy upon me, and receive this spirit of mine."

This prayer, and these last words of the late young king, (than whom the world hath not seen a more excellent prince,) I have added in this place, kind reader, in order that you might behold the piety of the young king; and at the same time note, how dear to his heart were the welfare of his people and the true religion of Christ. I often observed his majesty, during prayer, spread out his hands and lift up his eyes to heaven at these words of the minister, "O Lord, save thy people;" and he would himself repeat the same. Moreover, from these his last words you will discover, that his sacred soul at that time foretold those artifices of Satan and of antichrist his servant, and those assaults upon the true church of God, which we at this present time witness. Whereof the following disputation will give you a sample: read, and judge: and, whatever is good and agreeable to the word of God, hold fast. Farewell.

THE TRUE REPORT OF THE DISPUTATION[1] HAD AND BEGUN IN THE CONVOCATION-HOUSE AT LONDON THE EIGHTEENTH OF OCTOBER, A. D. 1553.

WHEREAS divers and uncertain rumours be spread abroad of the disputation had in the convocation-house; to the intent that all men may know the certainty of all things therein done and said, as much as the memory of him that was present thereat can bear away, he hath thought good, at request, thoroughly to describe what was said therein on both parties of the matters argued and had in question, and of the entrance thereof.

A disputation of religion in Paul's church in London the 18th of October.

The Act of the First Day.

First, upon Wednesday, being the 18th of October, at afternoon, master Weston, the prolocutor, certified the house, that it was the queen's pleasure, that the company of the same house, being learned men assembled, should debate of matters of religion, and constitute laws thereof, which her grace and the parliament would ratify. "And for that," said he, "there is a book of late set forth, called the catechism[2],

October 18.

Dr Weston, prolocutor, against the book of catechism set forth in king Edward's time.

[1] The text adopted in the "Disputation" is that of Foxe, 1684: the differences between that and the editions of 1597 and 1610, being marked in the notes.]

[2] The title of this book is as follows: "'Catechismus brevis, Christianæ Disciplinæ Summam continens', omnibus ludimagistris authoritate regia commendatus. Huic catechismo adjuncti sunt articuli de quibus in ultimo Synodo Londinensi Anno Dom. 1552, ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem, &c. inter episcopos, et alios eruditos viros convenerat, regia similiter authoritate promulgati." These words do not assert that the catechism, but the articles only, laid claim to synodical authority. Weston seems to have confused these points in his own mind; and, if we may judge from his words, not to have clearly distinguished the two treatises mentioned in the title-page, since he says presently, "I thought

[which he shewed forth,] bearing the name of this honourable synod, and yet put forth without your consents, as I have learned; being a book very pestiferous, and full of heresies; and likewise a book of common prayer very abominable," as it pleased him to term it. "I thought it therefore best, first to begin with the articles of the catechism, concerning the sacrament of the altar, to confirm the natural presence of Christ in the same, and also transubstantiation. Wherefore," said he, "it shall be lawful, on Friday next ensuing, for all men freely to speak their conscience in these matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully satisfied therein."

The Act of the Second Day.

October 20. The Friday coming, being the 20th of October, when men had thought they should have entered disputations of the questions proposed, the prolocutor exhibited two several bills unto the house; the one for the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; the other concerning the catechism, that it was not of that house's agreement set forth, and that they did not agree thereunto: requiring all them to subscribe to the same, as he himself had done. Whereunto the whole house did immediately assent, except six, which were the dean of Rochester, the dean of Exeter[1], the archdeacon of Winchester, the archdeacon of Hereford, the archdeacon of Stow, and one other[2].

Two bills exhibited in the convocation-house by the prolocutor.

The book of the catechism defended by Philpot.

And whilst[a] the rest were about to subscribe these two

it best first to begin with the *Articles of the Catechism*, &c. The king's letters patent speak of it as having been composed by a "certain pious and learned man", and presented to him; and that he entrusted the task of examining it to certain bishops and other men of learning. Who was the author of it, is not ascertained; some having ascribed it to Poinet, bishop of Winchester; and others to Alexander Nowell, who was subsequently dean of St Paul's. Vid. Collier's Eccl. Hist. Lond. 1840. tom. v. p. 506.]

[1 The person referred to is Haddon, but he was not dean of Exeter. See "Notices" before the Disputation, p. 170.]

[2 That "other" was, probably, Young, Precentor of St David's.]

[a] *while*, 1597.

articles, John Philpot stood up, and spake, first, concerning the articles of the catechism, that he thought they were deceived in the title of the catechism, in that it beareth the title of the synod of London last before this; although many of them which then were present were never made privy thereof in setting it forth; for that this house had granted the authority to make ecclesiastical laws unto certain persons to be appointed by the king's majesty; and whatsoever ecclesiastical laws they, or the most part of them, did set forth, according to a statute in that behalf provided, it might be well said to be done in the synod of London, although such as be of this house now, had no notice thereof before the promulgation. And in this point he thought the setter-forth thereof nothing to have slandered the house, as they by their subscription went about to persuade the world, since they had our synodal authority unto them committed, to make such spiritual laws as they thought convenient and necessary.

Against the article of natural presence.

And moreover he said, as concerning the article of the natural presence in the sacrament, that it was against reason and order of learning, and also very prejudicial to the truth, that men should be moved to subscribe before the matter were thoroughly examined and discussed. But when he saw that allegation might take no place, being as a man astonished[b] at the multitude of so many learned men, as there were of purpose gathered together to maintain old traditions more than the truth of God's holy word, he made this request unto the prolocutor: that whereas there were so many ancient learned men present on that side, as in the realm the like again were not to be found in such number; and that on the other side, of them that had not subscribed, were not past five or six, both in age and learning far inferior unto them; therefore, that equality might be had in this disputation, he desired that the prolocutor would be a mean unto the lords[3], that some of those that were learned, and setters-forth of the same catechism, might be brought into the house, to shew their learning that moved them to set forth the same; and that Dr Ridley and master Rogers, with two or three more,

Philpot's request to the prolocutor.

Request to have Dr Ridley and Rogers at the disputation.

[3 Be a mean unto the lords: be the *medium* of communicating a request to the bishops: "cum D.D. episcopis agas." Lat.]

[b] *astonied*, 1597.

might be licensed to be present at this disputation, and to be associated with them.

Answer of the bishops.

This request was thought reasonable, and was proposed unto the bishops, who made this answer: that it was not in them to call such persons unto our house, since some of them were prisoners. But they said, they would be petitioners in this behalf unto the council, and in case any were absent that ought to be of the house, they willed them to be taken in unto them if they listed[1]. After this, they minding to have entered into disputation, there came a gentleman as messenger from the lord great master, signifying unto the prolocutor, that the lord great master and the earl of Devonshire would be present at the disputations, and therefore he deferred the same unto Monday, at one of the clock at afternoon.

The Act of the Third Day.

Upon Monday, the 23rd of October, at the time appointed, in the presence of many earls, lords, knights, gentlemen, and

Weston.

divers other of the court and of the city also, the prolocutor made a protestation, that they of the house had appointed this disputation, not to call the truth into doubts, to the which they had already all subscribed, saving five or six, but that those gainsayers might be resolved of their arguments in the which they stood, "as it shall appear unto you, not doubting but they will also condescend unto us."

Haddon and Elmar refuse to answer, except their request be granted.

Then he demanded of master Haddon, whether we[a] would reason against the questions proposed or no. To whom he made answer, that he had certified him before in writing, that he would not, since the request of such learned men as were demanded to be assistant with them, would not be granted. Master Elmar likewise was asked, who made the

[1 Here, too, the words, as given by Foxe, are obscure. Possibly, the bishops meant that, if the petitioners desired the attendance of any parties over whom they (the bishops) had controul, their free consent was given that such persons should attend the adjourned meeting of convocation. So Pollanus seems to have understood the sentence; "ut hos ipsi advocent, et sibi, si lubeat, adjungant."]

[a] *he*, 1597.

prolocutor the like answer; adding moreover this, that they had done too much prejudice already to the truth, to subscribe before the matter was discussed; and little or nothing it might avail to reason for the truth, since all they were now determined to the contrary.

Cheney. After this he demanded of master Cheney, who, the prolocutor said, allowed the presence with them; but he denied the transubstantiation by the means of certain authorities upon the which he standeth, and desireth to be resolved (as you shall hear), whether he will propose his doubts concerning transubstantiation, or no. "Yea," quoth he, "I would gladly my doubts to be resolved, which move me not to believe transubstantiation. The first is out of St Paul to the Corinthians, who, speaking of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calleth it ofttimes bread after the consecration. The second is out of Origen[2], who, speaking of this sacrament, saith, that the material part thereof goeth down to the excrements. The third is out of Theodoret[3], who, making mention of the sacramental bread and wine after the consecration, saith, that they go not out of their former substance, form, and shape. These be some of my doubts, among many others, wherein I require to be answered."

Cheney's doubts about transubstantiation. [1 Cor. xi. 23, 27.]

Then the prolocutor assigned Dr Moreman to answer him, who, to St Paul, answered him thus: that "The sacrament is called by him bread indeed; but it is thus to be understood: that it is the sacrament of bread; that is, the form of bread."

Moreman's answer to St Paul.

Then master Cheney inferred and alleged, that Hesychius called the sacrament both bread and flesh. "Yea," quoth Moreman, "Hesychius calleth it bread, because it *was* bread,

Cheney replieth to Moreman's answer.

[2] Εἰ δὲ πᾶν τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα εἰς κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται, καὶ τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικὸν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται. Orig. Op. Par. 1740. tom. III. In Matth. Comment. tom. XI. p. 499.]

[3] Οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατά ἐστι, καὶ ἁπτά, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν. Theodoret. Op. Halæ. 1772. tom. IV. Dialog. II. Inconfusus. p. 126.]

Moreman's answer to Theodoret.

and not because it *is* so." And passing over Origen, he came to Theodoret, and said, that men mistook his authority, by interpreting a general into a special, as Peter Martyr[1] hath done in the place of Theodoret, interpreting οὐσία for *substance*, which is a special signification of the word; whereas οὐσία is a general word, as well to accidents as to substance; "and therefore I answer thus unto Theodoret; that the sacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former substance, form, and shape; that is to say, not out of their accidental substance and shape."

Elmar argueth against Moreman's answer.

After this master Cheney sat him down; and by and by master Elmar stood up, as one that could not abide to hear so fond an answer to so grave an authority, and reasoned upon the authority of Theodoret alleged before by master Cheney, and declared, that Moreman's answer to Theodoret was no just or sufficient answer, but an illusion and subtle evasion, contrary to Theodoret's meaning. "For," said he, "if οὐσία should signify an accident in the place alleged, as it is answered by master Moreman, then were it a word superfluous set in Theodoret there, where do follow two other words, which sufficiently do expound the accidents of the bread, that is εἶδος καὶ σχῆμα, which signify in English, shape and form." And so he proved out of the same author, by divers allegations, that οὐσία, in Greek, could not be so generally taken in that place, as Moreman for a shift would have it. But Moreman, as a man having no other salve for that sore, affirmed still, that οὐσία, which signifieth substance, must needs signify an accidental substance properly. To whose importunity, since he could have no other answer, Elmar, as a man wearied with his importunity, gave place.

Philpot's replication to Moreman's shift.

The place of Theodoret opened.

After this stood up John Philpot, and said, that he could prove, that by the matter that Theodoret entreateth of in the place above alleged, and by the similitude which he maketh to prove his purpose, by no means master More-

[1 "Nam apud Theodoretum Eutychiani ad hunc modum argumentantur: Panis efficitur corpus Christi: Ergo humana natura Christi transivit in divinam. At Theodoretus negat assumptum; nam panem ait nomen quidem accipere corporis Christi, interim tamen ejus naturam et substantiam non mutari." Pet. Martyr. Defens. ad Gard. de Eucharistia. Part 1. p. 389. Tigur. 1559.]

man's interpretation of οὐσία might be taken for an accidental substance, as he for a shift would interpret it to be; for the matter which Theodoret entreateth of in that place, is against Eutyches[a] a heretic, who denied two natures of substance to remain in Christ, being one person; and that his humanity, after the accomplishment of the mystery of our salvation, ascending into heaven, and being joined unto the divinity, was absorpt, or swallowed up of the same; so that Christ should be no more but of one divine substance only, by his opinion. Against which opinion Theodoret writeth, and by the similitude of the sacrament proveth the contrary against the heretic: that like as in the sacrament of the body of Christ, after the consecration, there is the substance of Christ's humanity, with the substance of bread remaining as it was before, not being absorpt by the humanity of Christ, but joined by the divine operation thereunto; even so in the person of Christ, being now in heaven, of whom this sacrament is a representation, there be two several substances, that is, his divinity and humanity united in one hypostasis or person, which is Christ; the humanity not being absorpt by the conjunction of the divinity, but remaining in his former substance. "And this similitude," quoth Philpot, "brought in of Theodoret to confound Eutyches, should prove nothing at all, if the very substance of the sacramental bread did not remain as it did before. But if Dr Moreman's interpretation might take place for transubstantiation, then should the heretic have thereby a strong argument, by Theodoret's authority so taken, to maintain his heresy, and to prove himself a good christian man; and he might well say thus unto Theodoret: 'Like as thou, Theodoret, if thou wert of Dr Moreman's mind, dost say, that after the consecration in the sacrament the substance

The argument of Theodoret a similitude.

The place of Theodoret falsely taken of the papists.

[a] Eutyches, an abbot of Constantinople, first published his opinions A.D. 446. In the following year the council of Constantinople condemned and deposed him; but, in 449, his orthodoxy was proclaimed by the council of Ephesus, who reinstated him in his dignity: but his doctrines, in conjunction with those of Nestorius, were pronounced heretical by the (fourth general) council of Chalcedon in 451. The Eutychians, (also called 'Monophysites' from their doctrine of *one* nature only being in Christ after his incarnation,) were yet subsisting in the eastern provinces as late as A.D. 655.]

of the bread is absorpt or transubstantiate into the human body of Christ coming thereunto, so that in the sacrament is now but one substance of the humanity alone, and not the substance of bread as it was before: even so likewise may I affirm, and conclude by thine own similitude, that the humanity, ascending up by the power of God into heaven, and adjoined unto the deity, was by the might thereof absorpt and turned into one substance with the deity; so that now there remaineth but one divine substance in Christ, no more than in the sacramental signs of the Lord's supper, after the consecration, doth remain any more than one substance, according to your belief and construction'."

The false exposition of Dr Moreman upon Theodoret overthrown.

In answering to this Dr Moreman staggered; whose defect Philpot perceiving, spake on this wise: "Well, master Moreman, if you have no answer at this present ready, I pray you devise one, if you can conveniently, against our next meeting here again."

Philpot.

With that his saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, telling him that he should not brag there, but that he should be fully answered. Then said Philpot, "It is the thing that I only desire, to be answered directly in this behalf; and I desire of you, and of all the house at this present, that I may be sufficiently answered, which I am sure you are not able to do, saving Theodoret's authority and similitude upright, as he ought to be taken." None other answer then was made to Philpot's reason[a], but that he was commanded to silence.

Weston is offended.

Philpot's replication answered by commanding him to silence.

Then stood up the dean of Rochester, offering himself to reason in the first question against the natural presence, wishing that the scripture and the ancient doctors in this point might be weighed, believed, and followed. And against this natural presence, he thought the saying of Christ in St Matthew to make sufficiently enough, if men would credit and follow scripture; who said there of himself, that poor men we should have alway with us, but Him we should not have always: "which was spoken," quoth he, "concerning the natural presence of Christ's body. Therefore we ought to believe as he hath taught—that Christ is not *naturally* present on earth in the sacrament of the altar,"

Philips.

[Matt. xxvi. 11.]

[a] *reasons*, 1597.

To this was answered by the prolocutor, that we should not have Christ present always to exercise alms-deeds upon him, but upon the poor. Weston.

But the dean prosecuted his argument, and shewed it out of St Augustine further, that the same interpretation of the scripture alleged was no sufficient answer; who writeth on this wise on the same sentence: "When as he said (saith St Augustine), 'Me shall ye not have always with you;' he spake of the presence of his body. For by his majesty, by his providence, by his unspeakable and invisible grace, that is fulfilled which is said of him, 'Behold I am with you until the consummation of the world.' But in the flesh, which the Word took upon him, in that which was born of the Virgin, in that which was apprehended of the Jews, which was crucified on the cross, which was let down from the cross, which was wrapped in clouts, which was hid in the sepulchre, which was manifested in the resurrection, 'You shall not have me always with you.' And why? For after a bodily presence he was conversant with his disciples forty days; and they accompanying him, seeing and not following him, he ascended and is not here; for there he sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and yet here he is, because he is not departed in the presence of his majesty. After another manner we have Christ always, by the presence of his majesty; but, after the presence of his flesh, it is rightly said, 'You shall not verily have me always with you.' For the church had him in the presence of his flesh a few days, and now by faith it apprehendeth him, and seeth him not with eyes."[1] Philips. A notable authority out of St Augustine. [Matt. xxviii. 20.]

[1] Potest et sic intelligi: 'Pauperes semper habebitis vobiscum, me autem non semper habebitis.' Accipiant hoc et boni, sed non sint soliciti: loquebatur enim de præsentiâ corporis sui. Nam secundum majestatem suam, secundum providentiam, secundum ineffabilem et invisibilem gratiam, impletur quod ab eo dictum est, 'Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque in consummationem sæculi.' Secundum carnem verò quam Verbum assumpsit, secundùm id quod de virgine natus est, secundum id quod a Judæis prehensus est, quod ligno confixus, quod de cruce depositus, quod linteis involutus, quod in sepulchro conditus, quod in resurrectione manifestatus, non semper habebitis vobiscum. Quare? Quoniam conversatus est secundum corporis præsentiam quadraginta diebus cum discipulis suis, et eis deducentibus videndo non sequendo, adscendit in cœlum, et non est hic. Ibi est enim, sedet ad dexteram Patris: et hic est, non enim recessit præsentia majestatis. Aliter: secundum præ-

Watson's answer to St Augustine.

To this authority Dr Watson took upon him to answer, and said, he would answer St Augustine *by* St Augustine. And having a certain book in his hand, of notes, he alleged out of the seventieth treatise upon St John, that after that mortal condition and manner we have not now Christ on earth[a], as he was heretofore before his passion.

Philpot replieth to Watson.

Against whose answer John Philpot replied, and said, that master Watson had not fully answered St Augustine by St Augustine, as he would seem to have done; for that in the place above-mentioned by master dean of Rochester, he doth not only teach the mortal state of Christ's body before his passion, but also the immortal condition of the same after his resurrection: in the which mortal body St Augustine seemeth plainly to affirm, that Christ is not present upon the earth, neither in form visibly, neither in corporal substance invisibly, as in few lines after the place above alleged St Augustine doth more plainly declare by these words, saying, "Now these two manners of Christ's presence declared, which is, by his majesty, providence, and grace, now present in the world; which before his ascension was present in flesh, and being now placed at the right hand of the Father, is absent in the same from the world; I think (saith St Augustine) that there remaineth no other question in this matter."

"Now," quoth Philpot, "if St Augustine acknowledged no more presence of Christ to be now on earth, but only his divine presence, and touching his humanity to be in heaven, we ought to confess and believe the same. But if we put a third presence of Christ, that is corporally to be present always in the sacrament of the altar invisibly, according to your suppositions, whereof St Augustine maketh no mention at all in all his works, you shall seem to judge that, which St Augustine did never comprehend."

Watson.

"Why," quoth Watson, "St Augustine, in the place by

sentiam majestatis semper habemus Christum: secundum præsentiam carnis, rectè dictum est discipulis, 'Me autem non semper habebitis.' Habuit enim illum ecclesia secundum præsentiam carnis paucis diebus: modò fide tenet, oculis non videt. Ergo sive ita dictum est, 'Me autem non semper habebitis,' quæstio sicut arbitror jam nulla est, quæ duobus modis soluta est. Aug. Op. Par. 1680. tom. III. part II. col. 633.]

[a] on *the* earth, 1597.

me alleged,—maketh he no mention how St Stephen, being in this world, saw Christ after his ascension?"

"It is true," said Philpot: "but he saw Christ, as the scripture telleth, in the heavens being open, standing at the right hand of God the Father." Further to this Watson answered not. Philpot.

Then the prolocutor went about to furnish up an answer to St Augustine, saying, that he is not now in the world after the manner of bodily presence, but yet present, for all that, in his body. Weston.

To whom Philpot answered, that the prolocutor did grate much upon this word *secundum* in St Augustine; which signifieth, *after the manner*, or *in form:* but he doth not answer to *id quod*, which is that thing or substance of Christ, in the which Christ suffered, arose, and ascended into heaven, in the which thing and substance he is in heaven, and not in earth; as St Augustine, in the place specified, most clearly doth define. Philpot replieth to Weston.

To this nothing else being answered, the dean of Rochester proceeded in the maintenance of his argument, and read out of a book of annotations sundry authorities for the confirmation thereof; to the which Moreman, who was appointed to answer him, made no direct answer, but bade him make an argument, saying, that master dean had recited many words of doctors, but he made not one argument. Then said the dean, "The authorities of the doctors by me rehearsed be sufficient arguments to prove mine intent, to the which my desire is to be answered of you." But still Moreman cried, "Make an argument," to shift off the authority which he could not answer unto. Philips resumeth his argument. Moreman. Philips. Moreman.

After this the dean made this argument out of the institution of the sacrament: "Do this in remembrance of me:" and, "Thus ye shall shew forth the Lord's death until he come."— The sacrament is the remembrance of Christ: ergo, the sacrament is not very Christ; for yet he is not come. For these words, "until he come," do plainly signify the absence of Christ's body. Then the prolocutor went about to shew that these words, "until he come," did not import any absence of Christ on the earth, by other places of Scripture, where *donec*, "until," was used in like sense; but directly to the Philips. [1 Cor. xi. 24, 26.] Argument. Weston answereth to the argument.

Master dean's questions.

purpose[1] he answered nothing. In conclusion the dean fell to questioning with Moreman, whether Christ did eat the paschal lamb with his disciples, or not? He answered, "Yea." Further, he demanded whether he did eat likewise the sacrament with them, as he did institute it? Moreman answered, "Yea." Then he asked, what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural body, as they imagine it to be, or no? which when Moreman had affirmed; then said the dean, "It is a great absurdity by you granted;" and so he sat down.

Moreman affirmeth Christ did eat his own body.

Philpot.

Against this absurdity Philpot stood up and argued, saying, he could prove it by good reason deduced out of the scripture, that Christ ate not his own natural body at the institution of the sacrament; and the reason is this:

Argument.

Ba- Receiving of Christ's body hath a promise of remission of sins with it annexed[2].

ro- Christ, eating the sacrament, had no promise of remission of sin.

co. Ergo, Christ in the sacrament did not eat his own body.

Moreman's denial.

To this reason Moreman answered, denying the former part of the argument, that the sacrament had a promise of remission of sins annexed unto it.

Philpot.

Then Philpot shewed this to be the promise in the sacrament: "Which is given for you, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins." But Moreman would not acknowledge that to be any promise, so that he drave Philpot to John vi., to vouch his saying with these words, "The bread which I will give, is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

Harpsfield affirmeth that which his fellow denied.

Moreman answering nothing directly to this argument, Harpsfield started up to supply that which was wanted in his behalf; and thinking to have answered Philpot, confirmed more strongly his argument, saying, "Ye mistake the promise which is annexed to the body of Christ in the sacrament: for it pertained not to Christ, but to his disciples, to whom Christ said, 'This is my body which is given for you,' and not for Christ himself."

[1 "Sed quidquid diceret, nihil ad Rhombum." Lat. of Pollanus.]
[2 "Dignè manducantibus" is added in the Latin of Pollanus.]

"You have said well for me," quoth Philpot, "for that is mine argument. The promise of the body of Christ took no effect in Christ: ergo, Christ ate not his own body." Philpot.

Then the prolocutor, to shoulder out the matter, said, the argument was naught; for by the like argument he might go about to prove, that Christ was not baptized, because the remission of sin, which is annexed unto baptism, took no effect in Christ. To the which Philpot replied, that like as Christ was baptized, so he ate the sacrament: but he took on him baptism, not that he had any need thereof, or that it took any effect in him; but as our master, to give the church an example to follow him in the ministration of the sacrament, and thereby to exhibit unto us himself; and not to give himself to himself. Weston. Philpot. Philpot's argument not soluted.

No more was said in this; but afterward the prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether he would argue against the natural presence, or no? To whom he answered, Yea, if he would hear his argument without interruption, and assign one to answer him, and not many; which is a confusion to the opponent, and especially for him that was of an ill memory.

By this time the night was come on; wherefore the prolocutor brake up the disputation for that time, and appointed Philpot to be the first that should begin the disputation the next day after, concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament. The convocation continued to the next day.

The Act of the Fourth Day.

On Wednesday, the 25th of October, John Philpot, as it was before appointed, was ready to have entered the disputation, minding first to have made a certain oration, and a true declaration in Latin of the matter of Christ's presence, which was then in question. Which thing the prolocutor perceiving, by and by he forbade Philpot to make any oration or declaration of any matter; commanding him also, that he should make no argument in Latin, but to conclude on his arguments in English. Philpot not suffered to make his declaration.

Then said Philpot, "This is contrary to your order taken at the beginning of this disputation. For then you appointed Philpot.

that all the arguments should be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and devised all my arguments in Latin. And because you, master prolocutor, have said heretofore openly in this house, that I had no learning, I had thought to have shewed such learning as I have, in a brief oration, and a short declaration of the questions now in controversy; thinking it so most convenient also, that in case I should speak otherwise in my declaration than should stand with learning, or than I were able to warrant and justify by God's word, it might the better be reformed by such as were learned of the house, so that the unlearned sort, being present, might take the less offence thereat."

But this allegation prevailed nothing with the prolocutor, who bade him still form an argument in English, or else to hold his peace. Then said Philpot, "You have sore disappointed me, thus suddenly to go from your former order: but I will accomplish your commandment, leaving mine oration apart; and I will come to my arguments, the which, as well as so sudden a warning will serve, I will make in English. But before I bring forth my argument, I will in one word declare what manner of presence I disallow in the sacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better understand to what end and effect mine arguments shall tend: not to deny utterly the presence of Christ in his sacraments, truly ministered according to his institution; but only to deny that gross and carnal presence, which you of this house have already subscribed unto, to be in the sacrament of the altar, contrary to the truth and manifest meaning of the scriptures; that by transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, Christ's natural body should, by the virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of presence, imagined by men, I do deny," quoth Philpot, "and against this I will reason."

The presence of Christ in the sacrament distinguished. His true presence not denied. The gross presence of the papists denied.

But before he could make an end of that he would have said, he was interrupted of the prolocutor, and commanded to descend to his argument. At whose unjust importunity Philpot being offended, and thinking to purchase him a remedy therefore, he fell down upon his knees before the earls and lords which were there present, being a great number,

Philpot craveth of the lords to prosecute his arguments without interruption.

whereof some were of the queen's council, beseeching them that he might have liberty to prosecute his arguments without interruption of any man; the which was gently granted him of the lords. But the prolocutor, putting in use a point of the practice of prelates, would not condescend thereunto, but still cried, "Hold your peace, or else make a short argument." "I am about it," quoth Philpot, "if you will let me alone. But first, I must needs ask a question of my respondent, concerning a word or twain of your supposition, that is, of the sacrament of the altar: what he meaneth thereby, and whether he taketh it as some of the ancient writers do, terming the Lord's supper the sacrament of the altar—partly, because it is a sacrament of that lively sacrifice which Christ offered for our sins upon the altar of the cross,— and partly, because that Christ's body, crucified for us, was that bloody sacrifice, which the blood-shedding of all the beasts offered upon the altar in the old law did prefigurate and signify unto us, in signification whereof the old writers sometimes do call the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, among other names which they ascribe thereunto, the sacrament of the altar? Or whether you take it otherwise; as for the sacrament of the altar which is made of lime and stone, over the which the sacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the sacrament of the mass, as it is at this present in many places? This done, I will direct mine arguments according as your answer shall give me occasion."

Philpot again interrupted by the prolocutor.

Altar diversely taken.

Then made Dr Chedsey this answer, that in their supposition they took the sacrament of the altar, and the sacrament of the mass, to be all one.

Chedsey.

"Then," quoth Philpot, "I will speak plain English as master prolocutor willeth me, and make a short resolution thereof: that that sacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the mass, once justly abolished, and now put in full use again, is no sacrament at all, neither is Christ in any wise present in it." And this his saying he offered to prove before the whole house, if they listed[n] to call him thereunto; and likewise he offered to vouch the same before the queen's grace, and her most honourable council, before[l]

Philpot.

Philpot's offer in the convocation-house.

[l] [*or*] *before,* in Foxe.]

[n] *lusted,* 1597 and 1610.

the face of six of the best learned men of the house, of the contrary opinion, and refused none. "And if I shall not be able," quoth he, "to maintain by God's word that I have said, and confound those six which shall take upon them to withstand me in this point, let me be burned with as many fagots as be in London, before the court gates." This he uttered with great vehemency of spirit.

Weston. At this the prolocutor, with divers others, were very much offended, demanding of him, whether he wist what he said,

Philpot. or no[1]? "Yea," quoth Philpot, "I wot well what I say;" desiring no man to be offended with his saying, for that he spake no more than by God's word he was able to prove. "And praised be God," quoth he, "that the queen's grace hath granted us of this house (as our prolocutor hath informed us), that we may freely utter our consciences in these matters of controversy in religion: and therefore I will speak here my conscience freely, grounded upon God's holy word, for the truth; albeit some of you here present mislike the same."

Argumentum a loco topico carceris. Then divers of the house, besides the prolocutor, taunted and reprehended him for speaking so unfearingly against the sacrament of the mass; and the prolocutor said, he was mad; and threatened him, that he would send him to prison, if he would not cease his speaking.

Philpot. Philpot, seeing himself thus abused, and not permitted with free liberty to declare his mind, fell into an exclamation, casting his eyes up towards the heaven, and said, "O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word may not be spoken and abiden by!" And for very sorrow and heaviness the tears trickled out of his eyes.

Philpot permitted to make a brief argument. After this the prolocutor, being moved by some that were about him, was content that he should make an argument, so that he would be brief therein.

"I will be as brief," quoth Philpot, "as I may conveniently be, in uttering all that I have to say. And first, I will begin to ground my arguments upon the authority of scriptures, whereupon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; and after, I shall confirm the same by ancient

[1 *Satin' sanus es,* aut intelligis quæ loqueris? *Lat.* See Acts xxvi. 24, 25.]

doctors of the church. And I took the occasion of my first argument out of Matthew xxviii., of the saying of the angel to the three Marys, seeking Christ at the sepulchre, saying, 'He is risen, he is not here:' and Luke xxiii., the angel asketh them, Why they sought him that liveth among the dead. Likewise the Scripture testifieth, that Christ is risen, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father: all the which is spoken of his natural body: ergo, it is not on earth included in the sacrament. Argument of Philpot.

"I will confirm this yet more effectually by the saying of Christ in John xvi.; 'I came,' saith Christ, 'from my Father into the world, and now I leave the world and go away to my Father:' the which coming and going he meant of his natural body. Therefore we may affirm thereby, that it is not now in the world.

"But I look here," quoth he, "to be answered with a blind distinction of visibly and invisibly, that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but invisibly he remaineth notwithstanding in the sacrament. But that answer I prevent myself, that with more expedition I may descend to the pith of mine arguments, whereof I have a dozen to propose; and will prove that no such distinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the answer which Christ's disciples gave unto him, speaking these words: 'Now thou speakest plainly, and utterest forth no proverb;' which words St Cyril interpreting, saith, 'That Christ spake without any manner of ambiguity and obscure speech[a].' And therefore I conclude hereby thus, that if Christ spake plainly, and without parable, saying, 'I leave the world now and go away to my Father,' then that obscure, dark, and imperceptible presence of Christ's natural body to remain in the sacrament upon earth invisibly, contrary to the plain words of Christ, ought not to be allowed. For nothing can be more uncertain, or more parabolical and insensible, than so to say. Here now will I attend what you will answer, and so descend to the confirmation of all that I have said by ancient writers." Distinction of the papists. Cyril.

[a Θαυμάζουσι τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ὡς ἐναργεστάτην· καταπλήττονται τοῦ λόγου τὸ διαφανές· περιστολῆς γὰρ ἀπάσης δίχα, τὸν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὖ μάλα πεποίηται λόγον. Cyril. Alexandr. Archiep. Op. Lutet. 1638. tom. IV. p. 941.]

Chedsey's answer to Philpot.

Then Dr Chedsey, reciting his argument in such order as it was made, took upon him to answer severally to every part thereof on this wise. First, to the saying of the angel, "That Christ is not here;" and, "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" he answered, that these sayings pertained nothing to the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament; but that they were spoken of Christ's body being in the sepulchre, when the three Marys thought him to have been in the grave still. And therefore the angel said, "Why do ye seek him that liveth among the dead?" And to the authority of John xvi., where Christ saith, "Now I leave the world and go to my Father," he meant that of his ascension. And so likewise did Cyril, interpreting the saying of the disciples, that knew plainly that Christ would visibly ascend into heaven. But that doth not exclude the invisible presence of his natural body in the sacrament; for St Chrysostom, writing to the people of Antioch, doth affirm the same, comparing Helias and Christ together, and Helias' cloak unto Christ's flesh: "Elijah," quoth he, "when he was taken up in the fiery chariot, left his cloak behind him unto his disciple Helisæus: but Christ, ascending into heaven, took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him."[1] Whereby we may right well gather, that Christ's flesh is visibly ascended into heaven, and invisibly abideth still in the sacrament of the altar.

Philpot's answer to Chedsey.

To this Philpot replied, and said, "You have not directly answered to the saying of the angel, 'Christ is risen, and is not here,' because you have omitted that which was the chiefest point of all. For," said he, "I proceeded further, as thus: He is risen, ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father: ergo, he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your answer to Cyril, by me alleged, sufficient; but by and by I will return to your interpretation of Cyril, and more plainly declare the same, after that I have first refelled the authority of Chrysostom, which is one of your chief principles that you alleged[2] to make for your gross carnal presence

[1 Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἠλίας μηλωτὴν ἀφῆκε τῷ μαθητῇ· ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναβαίνων τὴν σάρκα ἡμῖν κατέλιπε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἠλίας ἀποδυσάμενος· ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς καὶ ἡμῖν κατέλιπε, καὶ ἔχων αὐτὴν ἀνῆλθε. Joan. Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718. tom. II. p. 34.]

[2 "Quæ vobis Achilleum argumentum dare videtur." *Lat.*]

in the sacrament; which being well weighed and understood, pertaineth nothing thereunto."

At that the prolocutor startled, that one of the chief pillars in this point should be overthrown[3]; and therefore recited the said authority in Latin first, and afterward Englished the same, willing all that were present to note that saying of Chrysostom, which he thought invincible on their side. "But I shall make it appear," quoth Philpot, "by and by, that it doth make little[a] for your purpose." And as he was about to declare his mind in that behalf, the prolocutor did interrupt him, as he did almost continually; wherewith Philpot not being content, said, "Master prolocutor thinketh that he is in a sophistry school, where he knoweth right well the manner is, that when the respondent perceiveth that he is like to be enforced with an argument, to the which he is not able to answer, then he doth what he can, with cavillation and interruption, to drive him from the same."

Philpot interrupted.

Philpot again interrupted.

This saying of Philpot was ill taken of the prolocutor and his adherents; and the prolocutor said, that Philpot could bring nothing to avoid that authority, but his own vain imagination. "Hear," quoth Philpot, "and afterward judge. For I will do in this, as in all other authorities wherewith you shall charge me in refelling any of my arguments that I have to prosecute, answering either unto the same by sufficient authorities of scripture, or else by some other testimony of like authority of yours, and not of mine own imagination; the which if I do, I will it to be of no credit. And concerning the saying of Chrysostom, I have two ways to beat him from your purpose; the one out of scripture, the other out of Chrysostom himself, in the place here by you alleged. First, where he seemeth to say, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him, truth it is: for we all do confess and believe, that Christ took on him our human nature in the Virgin Mary's womb, and, through his passion in the same, hath united us to his flesh; and thereby are we become one flesh with him: so that Chrysostom might therefore right well say, that Christ ascending took his flesh, which

Weston.

Philpot.

The place of Chrysostom, of Christ taking up his flesh, and leaving his flesh, answered to by Philpot.

How Christ left his flesh behind him.

[3 Added in the Latin: "ut auditorum attentionem frangeret, atque a Filpoto averteret."]

a *to make little*, 1597 and 1610.

he received of the Virgin Mary, away with him; and also left his flesh behind him, which are we that be his elect in this world, who are the members of Christ, and flesh of his flesh; as very aptly St Paul to the Ephesians, in the fifth chapter, doth testify, saying, 'We are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones.' And if percase[1] any man will reply that he entreateth there of the sacrament, so that this interpretation cannot so aptly be applied unto him in that place, then will I yet interpret Chrysostom another way by himself. For in that place, a few lines before those words which were here now lately[a] read, are these words; that Christ, after he ascended into heaven, left unto us, endued with his sacraments, his flesh in mysteries; that is, sacramentally[2]. And that mystical flesh Christ leaveth as well to his church in the sacrament of baptism, as in the sacramental bread and wine. And that St Paul justly doth witness, saying, 'As many of us as are baptized in Christ have put upon us Christ.' And thus you may understand that St Chrysostom maketh nothing for your carnal and gross presence in the sacrament, as you wrongfully take him."

Chrysostom expounded by Chrysostom.

Gal. iii.

Pie.

Now in this mean while master Pie rounded the prolocutor in the ear[3] to put Philpot to silence, and to appoint some other, mistrusting lest he would shrewdly shake their carnal presence in conclusion, if he held on long, seeing in the beginning he gave one of their chief foundations such a pluck. Then the prolocutor said to Philpot, that he had reasoned sufficiently enough, and that some other should now supply his room. Wherewith he was not well content, saying: "Why, sir, I have a dozen arguments concerning this matter to be proposed, and I have yet scarce[b] overgone my first argument; for I have not brought in any confirmation thereof out of any ancient writer (whereof I have for the same purpose many), being hitherto still letted by your oft interrupting of me."

Weston. A good solution for all his argument.

Philpot.

[1 Percase: perchance.]

[2 Οἶδα ὅτι μακαρίζετε τὸν δίκαιον ἐκεῖνον, καὶ ἐβούλεσθε αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐκεῖνος εἶναι· τί οὖν ἂν ὑμῖν ὑποδείξω, ὅτι ἕτερόν τι πολλῷ μεῖζον ἐκείνου πάντες ἐλάβομεν οἱ μεμυσταγωγημένοι; Chrysost. Op. tom. II. p. 34.]

[3 Rounded, &c.: whispered, from the German, *runen*.]

[a] *no rather* read, 1597 and 1610.

[b] *not yet*, 1597 and 1610.

"Well," quoth the prolocutor, "you shall speak no more now, and I command you to hold your peace." "You perceive," quoth Philpot, "that I have stuff enough for you, and am able to withstand your false supposition, and therefore you command me to silence." "If you will not give place," quoth the prolocutor, "I will send you to prison." "This is not," quoth Philpot, "according to your promise made in this house, nor yet according to your brag made at Paul's Cross, that men should be answered in this disputation to whatsoever they can say; since you will not suffer me, of a dozen arguments, to prosecute one." Weston. Philpot.

Then master Pie took upon him to promise that he should be answered another day. Philpot, seeing he might not proceed in his purpose, being therewith justly offended, ended, saying thus: "A sort of you here, who hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and the world, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God's holy word, and to set forth every false device, which by the catholic doctrine of the scripture ye are not able to maintain."

Then stepped forth master Elmar, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, whom master Moreman took upon him to answer; against whom master Elmar objected divers and sundry authorities for the confirming of the argument he took the day before in hand, to prove that *οὐσία* in the sentence of Theodoret, brought in by master Cheney, must needs signify substance, and not accidents: whose reasons and probations[c], because they were all grounded and brought out of the Greek, I do pass over, for that they want their grace in English, and also their proper understanding. But his allegations so encumbered master Moreman, that he desired a day to overview them; for at that instant he was without a convenient answer. Elmar again steppeth forth. Οὐσία. Moreman desireth a day, to imagine some crafty shift.

Then did the prolocutor call master Haddon, dean of Exeter, and chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, who prosecuted Theodoret's authority in confirming master Elmar's argument: to whom Dr Watson took upon him to give answer; who, after long talk, was so confounded, that he was not able to answer to the word *mysterium*: but, forasmuch as he seemed to doubt therein, master Haddon took out of his bosom a Latin author to confirm his saying, and shewed the same to

[c] *approbations*, 1597 and 1610.

master Watson, asking him whether he thought the translation to be true, or that the printer were in any fault. "There may be a fault in the printer," quoth Watson, "for I am not remembered of this word." Then did master Haddon take out of his bosom a Greek book, wherein he shewed forth with his finger the same words; which master Watson could not deny. His arguments further I omit to declare at large, because they were for the most part in Greek, about the boulting[1] of the true signification of *οὐσία*.

Watson confounded by Haddon.

Pern against transubstantiation.

Then stept forth master Pern, and in argument made declaration of his mind against transubstantiation, and confirmed the sayings and authorities alleged by master Elmar and master Haddon: to whom the prolocutor answered, saying, "I much marvel, master Pern, that you will say thus; forsomuch as, on Friday last, you subscribed to the contrary." Which his saying master Elmar did mislike, saying to the prolocutor, that he was to blame, so to reprehend any man, "partly for that this house," quoth he, "is a house of free liberty for every man to speak his conscience, and partly for that you promised yesterday, that, notwithstanding any man had subscribed, yet he should have free liberty to speak his mind." And for that the night did approach, and the time was spent, the prolocutor, giving them praises for their learning, did yet notwithstanding conclude, that all reasoning set apart, the order of the holy church must be received, and all things must be ordered thereby.

The Act of the Fifth Day.

On Friday, the 27th of October, Dr Weston the prolocutor did first propound the matter, shewing that the convocation hath spent two days in disputation already about one only doctor, who was Theodoret, and about one only word, which was *οὐσία*: yet were they come, the third day, to answer all things that could be objected, so that they would shortly put[a] their arguments. So master Haddon, dean of Exeter, desired leave to oppose master Watson, who,

[1] Boulting: sifting. Boulting *out*, 1597 and 1610.]

[a] put *out*, 1597 and 1610.

with two other more, that is, Morgan and Harpsfield, was appointed to answer.

Haddon, dean of Exeter, against Watson, Morgan, and Harpsfield.

Master Haddon demanded this of him, "Whether any substance of bread or wine did remain after the consecration?" Then master Watson asked of him again, whether he thought there to be a real presence of Christ's body or no? Master Haddon said, It was not meet nor order-like, that he who was appointed to be respondent, should be opponent; and he whose duty was to object, should answer. Yet master Watson, a long while, would not agree to answer; but, that thing first being granted him, at last an order was set, and master Haddon had leave to go forward with his argument.

The words of Theodoret.

Then he proved, by Theodoret's words[a], a substance of bread and wine to remain. For these are his words: "The same they were before the sanctification, which they are after." Master Watson said, that Theodoret meant not the same substance, but the same essence.

A popish distinction between substance and essence.

Whereupon they were driven again unto the discussing of the Greek word *οὐσία*; and master Haddon proved it to mean a substance, both by the etymology of the word, and by the words of the doctor. "For *οὐσία*," quoth he, "cometh of the particle[b] *ὤν*, which descendeth of the verb *εἰμί*; and so cometh the noun *οὐσία*, which signifieth substance." Then master Watson answered, that it had not that signification only: but master Haddon proved that it must needs so signify in that place.

Then Haddon asked Watson, When the bread and wine became symbols? Whereunto he answered, "After the consecration, and not before." Then gathered master Haddon this reason out of his author.

Argument of Haddon.

Da- The same thing, saith Theodoret, that the bread and wine were before they were symbols, the same they remain still in nature and substance, after they are symbols.

ti- Bread and wine they were before:

si. Therefore bread and wine they are after.

[a Οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. Theodoreti Inconfusus Dialog. II. Op. Lutet. Par. 1642. tom. IV. p. 85.]

b *Participle*, 1597 and 1610. The edition of 1684 reads "cometh *to* the particle," which is scarcely sense.

Then master Watson fell to the denial of the author, and said he was a Nestorian[1]; and he desired that he might answer to master Cheney who stood by, for that he was more meet to dispute in the matter, because he had granted and subscribed unto the real presence.

Cheney. Master Cheney desired patience of the honourable men to hear him, trusting that he should so open the matter, that the verity should appear; protesting furthermore, that he was no obstinate or stubborn man, but would be conformable to all reason; and if they, by their learning (which he acknowledged to be much more than his), could answer his reasons, then he would be ruled by them, and say as they said; for he would be no author of schism, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother the church, which is Christ's spouse.

Dr Weston liked this well, and commended him highly, saying that he was a well-learned and sober man, and well exercised in all good learning, and in the doctors; and finally, a man meet, for his knowledge, to dispute in that place: "I pray you, hear him," quoth he.

Cheney's prayer. Then master Cheney desired such as there were present, to pray two words with him unto God, and to say, *Vincat veritas*; "Let the verity take place, and have the victory:" and all that were present cried with a loud voice, *Vincat veritas, Vincat veritas.*

Weston. Then said Dr Weston to him, that it was hypocritical. "Men may better say," quoth he, *Vicit veritas*, "Truth hath gotten the victory." Master Cheney said again, If he would give him leave, he would bring it to that point, that he might well say so.

Cheney and Watson dispute. Then he began with master Watson after this sort: "You said, that master Haddon was unmeet to dispute, because he granteth not the natural and real presence; but I say,

[1 The heresy of Nestorius (who held that the divine and human nature in Christ were connected rather than united), arose A.D. 428: and its remains are yet visible in the community of Nestorian, or Chaldean Christians, who compose a part of the church settled on the coast of Malabar. This portion of the church in question has never conformed to the Romish church, but the other part has become identified with the Romish communion.]

you are much more unmeet to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament."

Cheney challenged, &c.

Master Watson said, he [Cheney] had subscribed to the real presence, and should not go away from that: so said Weston also, and the rest of the priests; insomuch that for a great while he could have no leave to say any more, till the lords spake, and willed that he should be heard.

Cheney.

Then master Cheney told them what he meant by his subscribing to the real presence, far otherwise than they supposed. So then he went forward, and prosecuted master Haddon's argument, in proving that *οὐσία* was a substance; using the same reason that master Haddon did before him. And when he had received the same answer also that was made to master Haddon, he said, it was but a lewd refuge, when they could not answer, to deny the author; and proved the author to be a catholic doctor; and, that being proved, he confirmed that which was said of the nature and substance further. "The similitude of Theodoret is this," quoth he: "As the tokens of Christ's body and blood, after the invocation of the priest, do change their names, and yet continue the same substance; so the body of Christ, after his ascension, changed its name, and was called immortal, yet had it its former fashion, figure, and circumscription; and, to speak at one word, the same substance of his body.[z] Therefore," said master Cheney, "if in the former part of the similitude you deny the same substance to continue, then in the latter part of the similitude, which agreeth with it, I will deny the body of Christ, after his ascension, to have the former nature and substance. But that were a great heresy: therefore it is also a great heresy to take away the substance of bread[a] and wine after the sanctification."

The argument of Theodoret renewed by Cheney.

[z "Ὥσπερ τοίνυν τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μέν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται, καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται· οὕτω τὸ δεσποτικὸν σῶμα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν μετεβλήθη τὴν θείαν. Ibid. Infra. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρότερον εἶδος ἔχει καὶ σχῆμα καὶ περιγραφήν, καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς εἰπεῖν, τὴν τοῦ σώματος οὐσίαν.]

[a] "*blood* and wine," Ed. 1684, but "*bread* and wine" seems to be demanded by the reasoning; and, indeed, to make sense; and is the reading of the ed. of 1610.

Watson.

Then was master Watson enforced to say, that the substance of the body, in the former part of the similitude brought in by him, did signify *quantity*, and other accidents of the sacramental tokens which be seen, and not the very substance of the same; and therefore Theodoret saith, *Quæ videntur, &c.* that is, "those things which be seen." For, according to philosophy, the accidents of things be seen, and not the substances.

Cheney appealed to the lords.

Then master Cheney appealed to the honourable men, and desired that they should give no credit to them in so saying; for if they should so think as they would teach, after their lordships had ridden forty miles on horseback (as their business doth sometimes require), they should not be able to say at night, that they saw their horses all the day, but only the colour of their horses. And, by his reason, Christ must go to school, and learn of Aristotle to speak: for when he saw Nathanael under the fig-tree, if Aristotle had stood by, he would have said, "No, Christ; thou sawest not him, but the colour of him."

After this Watson said, "What, if it were granted that Theodoret was on the other side? Where they had one of that opinion, there were a hundred on the other."

Morgan is called for, to help at a pinch.

Then the prolocutor called for master Morgan to help, and said, that Theodoret did no more than he might lawfully do. For first, he granted the truth, and then, for fear of such as were not fully instructed in the faith[1], he spake αἰνιγματικῶς, that is, covertly and in a mystery; and this was lawful for him to do: for first he granted the truth, and called them the body of Christ and the blood of Christ. Then, afterwards, he seemed to give somewhat to the senses, and to reason: "but, that Theodoret is of the same mind that they were of, the words following," quoth he, "do declare; for that which followeth is a cause of that which went before. And therefore he saith, 'The immortality,' &c. whereby it doth appear, that he meant the divine nature, and not the human."

Morgan alegeth false the text.

Then was Morgan taken with misalleging of the text: for the book had not this word "for;" for the Greek word did rather signify "truly" and not "for;" so that it might

[1 Added in the Latin, "illorumque imbecillitati se accommodans."]

manifestly appear, that it was the beginning of a new matter, and not a sentence rendering a cause of that he had said before.

Then it was said by Watson again, "Suppose that Theodoret be with you, who is one that we never heard of printed, but two or three years ago; yet is he but one, and what is one against the whole consent of the church?" After this, master Cheney inferred, that not only Theodoret was of that mind, that the substance of bread and wine do remain, but divers others also, and especially Irenæus, who, making mention of this sacrament, saith thus: "When the cup which is mingled with wine, and the bread that is broken, do receive the word of God, it is made the eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, by the which the substance of our flesh is nourished and doth consist."[2] If the thanksgiving do nourish our body, then there is some substance besides Christ's body. Watson. Cheney.

To the which reason both Watson and Morgan answered, that *Ex quibus*, "By the which," in the sentence of Irenæus, was referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and blood of Christ; and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread that is broken. Watson and Morgan.

Master Cheney replied, that it was not the body of Christ which nourished our bodies. "And let it be that Christ's flesh nourisheth to immortality, yet it doth not answer to that argument, although it be true, no more than that answer which was made to my allegation out of St Paul, 'The bread which we break,' &c., with certain other like; whereunto you answered, That bread was not taken there in its proper signification, but for that it had been; no more than the rod of Aaron was taken for the serpent, because it had been a serpent." Cheney.

After this, master Cheney brought in Hesychius, and used the same reason that he did, of burning of symbols; and he asked them, What was burnt? Master Watson said, We must not inquire nor ask, but if there were any fault, impute it to Cheney.

[2 Ὁπότε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, καὶ ὁ γεγονὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ἐκ τούτων δὲ αὔξεται καὶ συνίσταται ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ὑπόστασις. Irenæi adv. Hæreses. Lib. v. Cap. ii. Oxon. 1702. p. 397.]

Christ. Then said master Cheney, Whereof came those ashes—not of substance? or can any substance arise of accidents?

Harpsfield called in to help Watson.

Then was master Harpsfield called in to see what he could say in the matter[1]; who told a fair tale of the omnipotency of God, and of the imbecility and weakness of man's reason, not able to attain to godly things. And he said, that it was convenient, whatsoever we saw, felt, or tasted, not to trust our senses. And he told a tale out of St Cyprian, how a woman saw the sacrament burning in her coffer; "and that which burned there," quoth Harpsfield, "burneth here, and becometh ashes." But what that was that burnt, he could not tell. But master Cheney continued still, and forced them with this question, What it was that was burnt? "It was either," said he, "the substance of bread, or else the substance of the body of Christ, which were too much absurdity to grant." At length they answered, that it was a miracle; whereat master Cheney smiled[2], and said, that he could then say no more.

Here is good stuff, as if it were out of the Legend of Lies.

Weston would know whether they were sufficiently answered, when he and his had answered no argument.

Then Dr Weston asked of the company there, whether those men were sufficiently answered, or no. Certain priests cried, "Yea," but they were not heard at all for the great multitude which cried, "No, No;" which cry was heard and noised almost to the end of Paul's. Whereat Dr Weston being much moved, answered bitterly, that he asked not the judgment of the rude multitude and unlearned people, but of them which were of the house. Then asked he of master Haddon and his fellows, whether they would answer them other three days? Haddon, Cheney, and Elmar said, "No." But the archdeacon of Winchester stood up and said, that they should not say but they should be answered; and though all others did refuse to answer, yet he would not, but offered to answer them all one after another. With his proffer the prolocutor was not contented, but railed on him, and said, that he should go to Bedlam: to whom the archdeacon soberly made this answer, that he was more worthy to be sent thither, who used himself so ragingly in that disputation, without any indifferent equality. Then rose Dr Weston up, and said:

Philpot offereth to answer them all.

A strong argument of

"All the company have subscribed to our article, saving

[1 "Succurrere lapsanti socio." *Lat.*]

[2 "Vix risum contineo, cum videam vestra tam nuda latibula." *Lat.*]

only these men which you see. What their reasons are, you have heard. We have answered them three days, upon promise (as it pleased him to descant without truth, for no such promise was made), that they should answer us again as long as the order of disputation doth require; and if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them so do."

Dr Weston: where he is not able to answer, he would outface.

Then master Elmar stood up, and proved how vain a man Weston was; for he affirmed that they never promised to dispute, but only to open and testify to the world their consciences. For when they were required to subscribe, they refused, and said that they would shew good reasons which moved them, that they could not with their consciences subscribe; as they had partly already done, and were able to do more sufficiently: "Therefore," quoth he, "it hath been ill called a disputation, and they were worthy to be blamed that were the authors of that name. For we meant not to dispute, nor now mean to answer, before our arguments," quoth he, "which we have to propound, be solved, according as it was appointed. For by answering we should but encumber ourselves, and profit nothing; since the matter is already decreed upon and determined, whatsoever we shall prove, or dispute to the contrary.

Elmar's reason why they would not answer.

The Act of the Sixth Day.

On Monday following, being the 30th of October, the prolocutor demanded of John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, whether he would answer in the questions before propounded to their objections, or no? To whom he made this answer, That he would willingly so do, if, according to their former determination, they would first answer sufficiently to some of his arguments, as they had promised to do, whereof he had a dozen, not half of the first being yet decided: and if they would answer fully and sufficiently but to one of his arguments, he promised that he would answer to all the objections that they should bring. Then the prolocutor bade him propound his argument, and it should be resolutely answered by one of them; whereunto master Morgan was appointed.

Philpot. "Upon Wednesday last," quoth Philpot, "I was enforced to silence before I had prosecuted half mine argument; the sum whereof was this (as was gathered by the just context of the scripture)—That the human body of Christ was ascended into heaven, and placed on the right hand of God the Father: wherefore it could not be situate upon earth in the sacrament of the altar, invisible after the imagination of man." The argument was denied by Morgan: for the proof whereof Philpot said, that this was it wherewith he had to confirm his first argument, if they would have suffered him the other day, as now he trusted they would.

Argument. *Fe-* "One self and same nature," quoth he, "receiveth not in itself any thing that is contrary to itself.

ri- "But the body of Christ is a human nature, distinct from the deity, and is a proper nature of itself:

o. "Ergo, It cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from itself.

"But bodily to be present, and bodily to be absent; to be on earth, and to be in heaven, and all at one present time; be things contrary to the nature of a human body: ergo, it cannot be said of the human body of Christ, that the selfsame body is both in heaven, and also in earth at one instant, either visibly or invisibly."

Morgan denied the major, that is, the first part of the argument; the which Philpot vouched out of Vigilius[1], an ancient writer. But Morgan cavilled that it was no scripture, and bade him prove the same out of scripture.

Philpot. Philpot said, he could also so do, and right well deduce the same out of St Paul, who saith, "that Christ is like unto us in all points, except sin:" and therefore, like as one of our bodies cannot receive in itself any thing contrary to the nature of a body, as to be in Paul's church and at Westminster at one instant, or to be at London visibly and

One body cannot be at once in diverse places.

[1 Et ab ipsomet Rom. pont. catalogo sacro ascriptus, cui etiam dies festus nuncupatus. Added in Lat.

Et hic sensus catholicus naturarum inter sese coeuntium unitatem, non naturæ unionem admittit, dum duabus naturis iisdemque manentibus unus Deus idemque homo creditur Christus. Vigilii Martyris et episcop. contra Eutychen, Lib. I. p. 42. Tiguri. 1539.]

at Lincoln invisibly, at one time (for that is contrary to the nature of a body, and of all creatures, as Didimus and Basil affirm, that an invisible creature, as an angel, cannot be at one time in divers places); wherefore he concluded, that the body of Christ might not be in more places than in one, which is in heaven; and so consequently not to be contained in the sacrament of the altar.

To this the prolocutor took upon him to answer, saying, Weston.
that it was not true that Christ was like unto us in all points, as Philpot took it, except sin; for that Christ was not conceived by the seed of man, as we be.

Whereunto Philpot again replied, that Christ's concep- Philpot.
tion was prophesied before, by the angel, to be supernatural; but after he had received our nature by the operation of the Holy Ghost in the Virgin's womb, he became in all points like unto us, except sin.

Then Morgan inferred, that this saying of Paul did not Morgan.
plainly prove his purpose.

"Well," quoth Philpot, "I perceive that you do answer Philpot.
but by cavillation; yet am I not destitute of other scriptures to confirm my first argument, although you refuse the probation of so ancient and catholic a doctor as Vigilius is. St Peter, in the sermon that he made in Acts iii., making mention of Christ, saith these words, "Whom heaven must receive until the consummation of all things," &c.: which words are spoken of his humanity. If heaven must hold Christ, then can he not be here on earth in the sacrament, as is pretended."

Then Morgan laughing at this, and giving no direct an- Harpsfield steppeth in.
swer at all, Harpsfield stood up, being one of the bishop of London's chaplains, and took upon him to answer to the saying of St Peter, and demanded of Philpot, whether he would, *ex necessitate*, that is, of necessity, force Christ to any place, or no.

Philpot said, that he would no otherwise force Christ of Philpot.
necessity to any place, than he is taught by the words of the Holy Ghost, which sound thus: That Christ's human body must abide in heaven until the day of judgment,—as he rehearsed out of the chapter before mentioned.

"Why," quoth Harpsfield, "do ye not know that God Harpsfield.

is God omnipotent?" "Yes," said Philpot, "I know that right well; neither doubt I any thing at all of his omnipotency. But of Christ's omnipotency, what he may do, is not our question, but rather what he doth. I know he may make a stone in the wall a man, if he list, and also that he may make more worlds; but doth he therefore so? It were no good consequent so to conclude: he may do this or that, therefore he doth it.

Ba- "Only so much is to be believed of God's omnipotency, as is in the word expressed.

ro- "That Christ's body is both in heaven, and here also really in the sacrament, is not expressed in the word:

co. "Ergo, It is not to be believed, that the body of Christ, being in heaven, is here also really in the sacrament."

"Why," quoth the prolocutor, "then you will put Christ in prison in heaven." To the which Philpot answered, "Do you reckon heaven to be a prison? God grant us all to come to that prison!"

After this, Harpsfield inferred that this word *oportet* in St Peter, which signifieth in English "must," did not import so much as I would infer, of necessity, as by other places of scripture it may appear, as in 1 Timothy iii., where Paul saith, *Oportet episcopum esse unius uxoris virum*, "A bishop must be the husband of one wife." "Here," quoth he, "*oportet* doth not import such a necessity, but that he that never was married may be a bishop."

Philpot.

"Oportet," how it is taken diversely in scripture.

To this Philpot said again, that the places were not alike, which he went about to compare; and that in comparing of the scriptures we must not consider the naked words, but the meaning rather of the scriptures; for that in the place by him alleged St Paul doth declare of what quality a bishop ought to be; but in the other St Peter teacheth us the place where Christ must necessarily be until the end of the world, which we ought to believe to be true. "And this comparison of this word *oportet* doth no more answer mine argument, than if I should say of you now being here, *oportet te hic esse*, 'You must needs be here;' which importeth such a necessity for the time, that you can no other-

wise be but here: and yet you would go about in words to avoid this necessity with another *oportet* in another sense, as this; *oportet te esse virum bonum*, 'You must be a good man;' where *oportet* doth not in very deed conclude any such necessity, but that you *may* be an evil man. Thus you may see that your answer is not sufficient, and as it were no answer to my argument."

Then the prolocutor brought in another *oportet*, to help this matter (if it might be), saying, "What say you to this, *Oportet hæreses esse?* must heresies needs be therefore, because of this word *oportet?*" Weston. [1 Cor. xi. 19.]

"Yea, truly," quoth Philpot, "it cannot otherwise be, if you will add that which followeth immediately upon these words of Paul, that is, *Ut qui electi sunt manifestentur;* that is, 'that such as be the elect of God may be manifested and known.'" Philpot.

"Why," quoth the prolocutor, "the time hath been, that no heresies were." Weston.

"I know no such time," quoth Philpot; "for since the time of Abel and Cain heresies have been, and then began they." Philpot.

Then said the prolocutor, "Will you now answer Morgan an argument or two?" Weston.

"I will," quoth Philpot, "if I may first be answered to my argument any thing according to truth and learning." Philpot.

"What!" quoth the prolocutor, "you will never be answered." Weston.

"How I am answered," quoth Philpot, "let all men that are here present judge, and especially such as be learned; and with what cavillations you have dallied with me. First, to the ancient authority of Vigilius you have answered nothing at all, but only denying it to be scripture[1], that he saith. Secondly, to the saying of St Peter in the Acts ye have answered thus—demanding of me, whether I would keep Christ in prison, or no. Let men now judge, if this be a sufficient answer, or no." Philpot.

Then stood Morgan up again, and asked Philpot, whether he would be ruled by the universal church, or no? Morgan.

"Yes," quoth he, "if it be the true catholic church. And since you speak so much of the church, I would fain that you would declare what the church is." Philpot.

[1 Id quod posset ad omnia vestra dogmata responderi. *Lat.*]

Morgan. "The church," quoth Morgan, "is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole world."

Philpot. "That is a diffuse definition," quoth Philpot; "for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the church: but I acknowledge no church but that, which is grounded and founded on God's word; as St Paul saith, [Eph. ii. 20.] 'Upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets,' and upon the scriptures of God."

Moreman. Whether the church was before the scripture. "What!" quoth Moreman, "was the scripture before the church?" "Yea," quoth Philpot.

"But I will prove nay," quoth Moreman, "and I will begin at Christ's time. The church of Christ was before any scripture written; for Matthew was the first that wrote the gospel, about a dozen years after Christ: ergo, the church was before the scripture."

Philpot. To whom Philpot answering, denied his argument; which when Moreman could not prove, Philpot shewed that his argument was *elenchus*, or a fallacy, that is, a deceivable argument. For he took the scripture only to be that which is written by men in letters; whereas, in very deed, all prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God was counted to be scripture before it was written in paper and ink, for that it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yea, and inspired in the mouths, of good men and of Christ's apostles, by the Spirit of Christ: as the salutation of the angel was the scripture of Christ and the word of God, before it was written.

Moreman. At that Moreman cried, "Fie! fie!" wondering that the scripture of God should be counted scripture before it was written; and affirmed, that *he* had no knowledge that said so.

Philpot. To whom Philpot answered, that concerning knowledge in this behalf, for the trial of the truth about the questions in controversy, he would wish himself no worse matched than with Moreman.

Weston raileth against Philpot to be a madman. At the which saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, saying, that it was arrogantly spoken of him, that would compare with such a worshipful learned man as Moreman was, being himself a man unlearned, yea, a madman; meeter to be sent to Bethlehem, than to be among such a sort of learned and grave men as were there; and a man that never would be answered, and one that troubled the whole house: and

therefore he did command him that he should come no more into the house, demanding of the house, whether they would agree thereupon, or no. To whom a great company answered, "Yea." Then said Philpot again, that he might think himself happy that was out of that company.

After this Morgan rose off, and rounded the prolocutor in the ear. And then again the prolocutor spake to Philpot, and said, "Lest thou shouldest slander the house, and say that we will not suffer you to declare your mind, we are content you shall come into the house as you have done before, so that you be apparelled with a long gown and a tippet, as we be, and that you shall not speak, but when I command you." "Then," quoth Philpot, "I had rather be absent altogether[1]." Morgan. Philpot to come in a long gown and tippet.

Thus they reasoning to and fro, at length, about the 13th of December, queen Mary, to take up the matter, sendeth

[[1] The following passage concludes Pollanus's Latin translation of the "Disputation in the Convocation-House." It follows the last reply of Philpot, "I had rather," &c.

'So ended this conference and debate, as the leaders of the papists pretended it to be. But if you wish to see (the subjects of) this discussion fully handled, read a little work of Peter Martyr, in which he sets forth at length the debate which was held for four days in the University of Oxford, where he was Regius Professor. On two accounts this discussion seems deserving of being read; both because it is a sort of commentary on this; and because that [as well the one which followed] was held by royal authority and command, five years before; the parties who presided thereat being the most excellent and pious Henry [Holbech] Bishop of Lincoln, and Dr Richard Cox, the most worthy Dean [of Christ's Church], and Chancellor of Oxford, who was at that time also the instructor of the youthful King Edward the Sixth in religion and general learning. The former of these rests in Christ: the latter, in return for all his good deeds to the realm of England,—having suffered cruel treatment, (in common with many godly men,) at the hands of the papists since their return to power, has hitherto endured, with an undaunted heart, as becomes a true servant of Christ, all these things; even bonds, and the loss of all his goods.

Lord, how long wilt thou permit the ungodly to bear rule?

Suffer not the wrongs done to thy Church and thy pious servants to be unavenged.'

Soli Deo Gloria.

S. D. S. M.]

her commandment to Bonner, bishop of London, that he should dissolve and break up the convocation. The copy of which commandment here followeth.

The precept of the queen to Bonner, bishop of London, for the dissolving of the aforesaid convocation.

Maria, &c., reverendo in Christo Patri et domino, domino Edmundo Londinensis episcopo, salutem. Cum præsens Convocatio Cleri Cantuariensis provinciæ apud S. Paulum London. jam modo tenta et instans existit, certis tamen urgentibus causis et considerationibus nos specialiter moventibus, de advisamento concilii nostri ipsam præsentem convocationem duximus dissolvendam. Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eandem præsentem convocationem apud Sanctum Paulum prædictum debito modo absque aliquâ dilatione dissolvatis, dissolvive faciatis, prout convenit, significantes ex parte nostra universis et singulis episcopis, necnon archidiaconis, decanis, et omnibus aliis personis ecclesiasticis quibuscunque dictæ Cantuariensis provinciæ, quorum interest, vel interesse poterit, quod ipsi et eorum quilibet huic mandato nostro exequendo intendentes sint et obedientes prout decet.—Teste meipsa apud Westmonasterium 13 die Decembris, anno regni nostri primo.

LETTERS

OF

MASTER JOHN PHILPOT,

ARCHDEACON OF WINCHESTER.

LETTERS[1]

OF

THAT HEARTY AND ZEALOUS MAN OF GOD,

MASTER JOHN PHILPOT,

ARCHDEACON OF WINCHESTER; WHO BESIDES THE GREAT TYRANNY AND TORMENTS WHICH HE SUFFERED IN BONNER'S BLIND COAL-HOUSE, AND OTHER HIS PAINFUL IMPRISONMENTS, WAS ALSO MOST CRUELLY MARTYRED, FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE LORD JESUS; THE 18th DAY OF DECEMBER, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1555.

LETTER I. (C.)

A Letter which he sent to the Christian congregation, exhorting them to refrain themselves from the idolatrous service of the papists, and to serve God with a pure and undefiled conscience after his word.

It is a lamentable thing to behold at this present in England the faithless departing both of men and women from the true knowledge and use of Christ's sincere religion, which so plentifully they have been taught and do know, their own consciences bearing witness to the verity thereof. If that earth be Heb. vi.
cursed of God, which, eftsoons[2] receiving moisture and pleasant dews from heaven, doth not bring forth fruit accordingly, how much more grievous judgment shall such persons receive, which, having received from the Father of heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry thereof, do not shew forth God's worship after the same? If the Lord will require, in the day of judgment, a godly usury of all manner of Matt. xxv.
talents which he lendeth unto men and women, how much more will he require the same of his pure religion revealed unto

[1 Of these letters some are taken from "Coverdale's Letters of the Martyrs;" and may be distinguished by the letter (C) prefixed: the remainder are from Foxe; the edition followed being that of 1597; and the differences between it and the copy of 1684 being marked in the notes.]

[2 Eftsoons: continually.]

us, (which is of all other talents the chiefest, and most pertaining to our exercise in this life,) if we hide the same in a napkin, and set it not forth to the usury of God's glory, and edifying of his church by true confession? God hath kindled the bright light of his gospel, which in times past was suppressed and hid under the vile ashes of man's traditions, and
Matt. v. hath caused the brightness thereof to shine in our hearts, to the end that the same might shine before men to the honour of his name. It is not only given us to believe, but also to confess and
Rom. x. declare what we believe in our outward conversation. For as St Paul writeth to the Romans, the belief of the heart justifieth, and to knowledge[1] with the mouth maketh a man safe.

It is all one before God not to believe at all, and not to shew forth the lively works of our belief. For Christ saith,
Matt. xii. "Either make the tree good and his fruit good, or else make the tree evil and the fruit evil, because a good tree bringeth
Luke xii. forth good fruit;" so that the person which knoweth his master's will and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes.
Matt. vii. And "not all they which say, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of God, but he that doth the will of the Father."
Luke ix. And whosoever in the time of trial "is ashamed of me (saith Christ) and of my words, of him the Son of man will be ashamed before his Father." After that we have built ourselves into the true church of God, it hath pleased him by giving us over into the hands of the wicked synagogues to prove our building, and to have it known as well to the world
Matt. vii. as to ourselves, that we have been wise builders into the true church of God upon the rock, and not on the sand; and therefore now the tempest is risen, and the storms do mightily blow against us, that we might notwithstanding stand upright and be firm in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternal felicity. There is no new thing happened unto us; for with such tempests and dangerous weathers the church of God hath continually been exercised. Now once again, as the prophet
Hag. ii. Haggai telleth us, the Lord shaketh the earth, that those might abide for ever which be not overthrown.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and immovable, in the word of God, and in the faithful observation thereof; and let no man deceive you with vain words, saying, that you may

[1 Knowledge: acknowledge.]

keep your faith to yourselves, and dissemble with antichrist, and so live at rest and quietness in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity. This is the wisdom of the flesh: but the wisdom of the flesh is death and enmity to God; as our Saviour, for example, aptly did declare in Peter, who exhorted Christ not to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover and there to be slain, but counselled him to look better to himself. Likewise the world would not have us to forsake him[2], neither to associate ourselves to the true church, which is the body of Christ, whereof we are lively members, and to use the sacraments after God's word, with the danger of our lives. But we must learn to answer the world as Christ did Peter, and say, "Go behind me, Satan, thou savourest not the things of God." "Shall I not drink of the cup which the Father giveth me?" For it is better to be afflicted and to be slain in the church of God, than to be counted the son of the king in the synagogue of false religion. Death for righteousness is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which assuredly bringeth with it the crown of everlasting glory. These bloody executioners do not persecute Christ's martyrs, but crown them with everlasting felicity. We were born into this world to be witnesses unto the truth, both learned and unlearned. Now, since the time is come that we must shew our faith, and declare whether we will be God's servants in righteousness and holiness, as we have been taught and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrisy serve unrighteousness; let us take good heed that we be found faithful in the Lord's covenant, and true members of his church, in the which through knowledge we are engraffed: from the which if we fall by transgression with the common sort of people, it will more straitly be required of us, than many yet do make account thereof. We cannot serve two masters. We may not halt on both sides, and think to please God; we must be fervent in God's cause, or else he will cast us out from him. For by the first commandment we are commanded "to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our power and strength:" but they are manifest transgressors of this commandment, which with their heart, mind, or bodily power do communicate with a strange religion, contrary to the word of God, in the papistical synagogue, which

Rom. viii. 1 Cor. vi.
Matt. xvi.
[John xviii. 11.] Heb. xi. Psal. cxvi.
Luke xvi.
1 Kings xviii. Rev. iii.

[2 Him: the world.]

calleth itself the church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now, which so do, as the Israelites did in times past, by forsaking Jerusalem, the true church of God, and by going to
1 Kings xiii. Bethel to serve God in a congregation of their own setting up, and after their own imaginations[1]; for the which doing God utterly destroyed all Israel, as all the prophets almost do testify. This happened unto them for our example, that we might beware to have any fellowship with any like congregation to our destruction. God hath one catholic church dispersed throughout the world; and therefore we are taught in our creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion therewith; which catholic church is grounded upon the foundation of the prophets and of the apostles; and upon
Eph. ii. none other, as St Paul witnesseth to the Ephesians. Therefore, wheresoever we perceive any people to worship God truly after that[2] word, there we may be certain the church of Christ to be, unto the which we ought to associate ourselves, and to
Psal. xxii. desire, with the prophet David, to praise God in the midst of this church. But if we behold, through the iniquity of time, congregations[3] to be made with counterfeit religion, otherwise than the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be companions thereof, to say again with David,
Psal. xxvi. "I have hated the synagogue of the malignant, and will not
Rev. ii. sit with the wicked." In the Apocalypse, the church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tried such as said they were apostles and were not in deed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his
Amos v. people that they should not seek Bethel, neither enter into Galgala, where idolatry was used, by the mouth of his prophet Amos.

1 Cor. iii. Also we must consider that "our bodies be the temple of God, and whosoever (as St Paul teacheth) doth profane the temple of God, him the Lord will destroy: may we then take the temple of Christ, and make it the member of an harlot?" All strange religion and idolatry is counted whoredom with the prophets; and that, more detestable in the sight of God than the adulterous abuse of the body. Therefore the princes of the

[1] Imaginations: *and traditions*, is added in Foxe's edition of 1597.]
[2] After *his* word. Foxe.]
[3] Segregations. Foxe.]

earth, in the Revelation of St John, be said to go a-whoring, when they are in love with false religion and follow the same. How then by any means may a christian man think it tolerable to be present at the popish private mass, which is the very profanation of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites, which be not after the word of God, but rather the derogation thereof, in setting man's traditions above God's precepts?—since God by his word judgeth all strange religion, which is not according to his institution, for whoredom and adultery. [Rev. xvii. 2.]

Some fondly[4] think that the presence of the body is not material, so that the heart do not consent to their wicked doings. But such persons little consider what St Paul writeth to the Corinthians, commanding them to glorify God as well in body as in soul. Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, than to seem to have forsaken her, or disallow her by cleaving to her adversary; whereby it appeareth to others which be weak, that we allow the same, and so, contrary to the word, do give a great offence to the church of God, and do outwardly slander (as much as men may) the truth of Christ. But "woe be unto him by whom any such offence cometh! Better it were for him to have a mill-stone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea." Such be traitors to the truth, like unto Judas, who with a kiss betrayed Christ. 1 Cor. vi.

Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we should be of any other body than of that unspotted church, whereof he is the head only, and wherein he hath planted us by baptism. This jealousy which God hath towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance, against all such as now have so large consciences to do that which is contrary to God's glory and the sincerity of his word; except they do in time repent and cleave inseparably to the gospel of Christ, how much soever at this present both men and women otherwise, in their own corrupt judgment, do flatter themselves. God willeth us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his sight, and to abstain from all manner of evil; and therefore Christ commandeth us in the Mark viii.

[4 Fondly: foolishly.]

gospel to "beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is
Heb. x. hypocrisy." St Paul to the Hebrews saith, that if any person withdraw himself from faith, he shall not be approved in his judgment; and therefore he saith also, that "we are none such as do withdraw ourselves unto perdition, but we belong unto faith for the attainment of life."

Rev. xiii. St John in the Apocalypse telleth us plainly, that none of those who are written in the book of life do receive the mark of the beast, which is, of the papistical synagogue, either in their foreheads or else in their hands, that is, apparently or obedi-
Eph. v. ently. St Paul [to the Ephesians and] to the Philippians
Phil. ii. affirmeth, that we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shine like lights, upholding the word
2 Cor. vi. of truth. Further he saith, that we may not touch any unclean thing; which signifieth, that our outward conversation in foreign things ought to be pure and undefiled as well as the inward, that with a clean spirit and rectified body we might serve God justly, in holiness and righteousness, all the days
Rev. xviii. of our life. Finally, in the 18th of the Apocalypse, God biddeth us plainly to depart from this Babylonical synagogue, and not to be partakers of her trespass. St Paul to the
2 Thess. iii. Thessalonians commandeth us, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to "withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately[1], and not according to the institution which he hath received of him."

Ponder therefore well, good brethren and sisters, these scriptures, which be written for your erudition and reformation; whereof one iota is not written in vain; which be utterly against all counterfeit collusion to be used of us with the papists in their fantastical religion, and be adversaries to all them that have so light consciences in so doing. And if they
Matt. v. do not agree with this adversary (I mean the word of God), which is contrary to their attempts, he will, as it is signified in the gospel, deliver them to the judge, which is Christ, and the judge will deliver them to the executioner, that is the devil, and the devil shall commit them to the horrible prison of
Matt. xxiv. hell fire; where is the portion of all hypocrites, with sulphur and brimstone, with wailing and gnashing of teeth, world

[1 Inordinately: disorderly.]

without end. But yet many will say for their vain excuse, God is merciful, and his mercy is over all. But the scripture teacheth us, that cursed is he that sinneth upon hope of forgiveness. Truth it is, that the mercy of God is above all his works, and yet but upon such as fear him, for so it is written in the Psalms, "The mercy of God is on them that fear him, and on such as put their trust in him:" where we may learn, that they only put their trust in God that fear him; and to fear God is to turn from evil and to do that is good. So that such as do look to be partakers of God's mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifest evil and detestable in the sight of God. Psal. ciii. cxlvi.

Another sort of persons do make them a cloke for the rain under the pretence of obedience to the magistrates, whom we ought to obey, although they be wicked. But such must learn of Christ to give to Cæsar that is Cæsar's, and to God that is due to God; and with St Peter to obey the higher powers in the Lord, albeit they be evil, if they command nothing contrary to God's word: otherwise we ought not to obey their commandments, although we should suffer death therefore; as we have the apostles for our example herein to follow, who answered the magistrates as we ought to do in this case, not obeying their wicked precepts; saying, "Judge you whether it be more righteous that we should obey men rather than God." Also Daniel chose rather to be cast into the den of lions to be devoured, than to obey the king's wicked commandments. "If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch." There is no excuse for the transgression of God's word, whether a man do it voluntarily or at commandment, although great damnation is to them by whom the offence cometh. Luke xx. 1 Pet. ii. Acts iv. Dan. vi. Matt. xv.

Some other there be, that for an extreme refuge in their evil doings, do run to God's predestination and election, saying, that if I be elected of God to salvation, I shall be saved whatsoever I do. But such be great tempters of God, and abominable blasphemers of God's holy election; and cast themselves down from the pinnacle of the temple in presumption, that God may preserve them by his angels through predestination. Such verily may reckon themselves to be none of God's elect children, that will do evil that good may ensue; whose damnation is just, as St Paul saith. God's predestination and Rom. iii.

election ought to be with a simple eye considered, to make us more warily to walk in good and godly conversation according to God's word, and not to set cock in the hoop, and put all on God's back, to do wickedly at large: for the elect children of God must walk in righteousness and holiness, after that they be once called to true knowledge; for so saith St Paul to the
Eph. i. Ephesians, that God "hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and blameless in
2 Pet. i. his sight." Therefore St Peter willeth us through good works to make our vocation and election certain to ourselves, which we know not but by the good working of God's Spirit in us, according to the rule of the gospel; and he that transformeth not himself to the same in godly conversation, may justly tremble and doubt that he is none of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkness. For the children of light will walk in the works of light, and not of
Prov. xxiv. darkness: though they fall, they do not lie still. Let all
John xii. vain excusations be set apart; and "while ye have light, as Christ commandeth, believe the light and abide in the same,
John iii. lest eternal darkness overtake you unawares." The light is come into the world; but alas! "men love darkness more than the light." God give us his pure eyesalve to heal our blindness in this behalf. Oh that men and women would be healed, and not seek to be wilfully blinded! The Lord open their eyes,
Heb. vi. x. that they may see how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth contrary to their conscience.

But what said I? Conscience? Many affirm, their conscience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous church to service—whose conscience is very large, to satisfy man more than God. And although their conscience can bear them so to do, yet I am sure that a good conscience will not permit them so to do; which cannot be good, unless it be directed after the knowledge of God's word: and therefore in Latin this feeling of mind is called *conscientia*, which soundeth[1] by interpretation with knowledge. And therefore, if our conscience be led of herself, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not so to
1 Cor. iv. be excused; as St Paul beareth witness, saying, "Although my conscience accuseth me not, yet in this I am not justified."

[1 Soundeth: is synonymous.]

And he joineth a good conscience with these three sisters, charity, a pure heart, and unfeigned faith. "Charity" keepeth God's commandments; "a pure heart" loveth and feareth God above all; and "unfeigned faith" is never ashamed of the profession of the gospel, whatsoever damages he shall suffer in body thereby. 1 Tim. i.

The Lord, which hath revealed his holy will unto us by his word, grant us never to be ashamed of it: and give us grace so earnestly to cleave to his holy word and true church, that for no manner of worldly respect we become partakers of the works of hypocrisy, which God doth abhor; so that we may be found faithful in the Lord's testament to the end, both in heart, word, and deed, to the glory of God, and our everlasting salvation. Amen.

JOHN PHILPOT,
Prisoner in the king's bench,
for the testimony of the truth; 1555.

LETTER II. (C.)

To his dear friend in the Lord, JOHN CARELESS, *prisoner in the king's bench.*

MY dearly beloved brother Careless, I have received your loving letters, full of love and compassion; insomuch that they made my hard heart to weep, to see you so careful for one that hath been so unprofitable a member as I have been and am in Christ's church. God make me worthy of that I am called unto; and I pray you cease not to pray for me. But cease to weep for him who hath not deserved such gentle tears; and praise God with me, for that I now approach to the company of them, whose want you may worthily lament. God give your pitiful heart his inward consolation! Indeed, my dear Careless, I am in this world in hell and in the shadow of death; but he that hath brought me for my deserts down unto hell, shall shortly lift me up to heaven,

where I shall look continually for your coming, and others my faithful brethren in the king's bench. And though I tell you that I am in hell in the judgment of this world, yet assuredly I feel in the same consolation of heaven, praise God! And this loathsome and horrible prison is as pleasant to me, as the walk in the garden of the king's bench. You know, brother Careless, that the way to heaven out of this life is very narrow, and we must strive to enter in at a narrow gate. If God do mitigate the ugliness of mine imprisonment, what will he do in the rage of the fire whereunto I am appointed? And this hath happened unto me, that I might be hereafter an ensample of comfort, if the like happen unto you or to any other of my dear brethren with you in these cruel days; in the which the devil so rageth at the faithful flock of Christ, but in vain (I trust) against any of us, who be persuaded that neither life, neither death is able to separate us from the love of Christ's gospel, which is God's high treasure committed to our brittle vessels, to glorify us by the same. God of his mercy make us faithful stewards to the end, and give us grace to fear nothing, whatsoever in his good pleasure we shall suffer for the same!

[Rom. viii. 38.]

That I have not written unto you erst, the cause is our strait keeping, and the want of light by night; for the day serveth us but a while in our dark closet. This is the first letter that I have written since I came to prison, besides the report of mine examinations; and I am fain to scribble it out in haste. Commend me to all our faithful brethren; and bid them with a good courage look for their redemption, and frame themselves to be hearty soldiers in Christ. They have taken his press-money a great while; and now let them shew themselves ready to serve him faithfully, and not to fly out of the Lord's camp into the world, as many do. Let them remember that in the Apocalypse "the fearful" be excluded the kingdom. Let us be of good cheer; for our Lord overcame the world, that we should do the like. "Blessed is the servant whom, when the Lord cometh, he findeth watching." Oh, let us watch and pray earnestly one for another, that we be not led into temptation. Be joyful under the cross, and praise the Lord continually; for this is the whole burnt sacrifice which the Lord chiefly delighteth in. Com-

[Rev. xxi. 8.]

[Luke xii. 37.]

[Matt. xxvi. 41.]

mend me to my father Hunt; and desire him to love and continue in the unity of Christ's true church, which he hath begun, and then shall he make me more and more to joy under my cross with him. Tell my brother Clements, that he hath comforted me much by his loving token, in signification of an unfeigned unity with us: let him increase my joy unto the end perfectly.

The Lord of peace be with you all! Salute all my loving friends, Master Mering, Master Crooch, with the rest; and especially Master Marshall and his wife, with great thanks for his kindness shewed unto me. Farewell, my dear Careless. I have dallied with the devil awhile, but now I am over the shoes: God send me well out!

Out of the coal-hole, by your brother,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER III. (C.)

Another Letter written to JOHN CARELESS, *out of the coal-house of darkness; whereby he giveth light and heavenly comfort to his heavy and troubled mind.*

THE God of all comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, send unto thee, my dear brother Careless, the inward consolation of his holy Spirit, in all the malicious assaults and troublous temptations of our common adversary the devil! Amen.

That God giveth you so contrite a heart for your sins, I cannot but rejoice to behold the lively mark of the children of God; whose property is to think more lowly and vilely of themselves than of any other, and oftentimes to set their sins before them, that they might the more be stirred to bring forth the fruits of repentance, and learn to mourn in this world, that in another they might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken heart is a pleasant sacrifice unto God; oh that I had the like contrite heart! God mollify my stony heart, which lamenteth not in such wise my former detestable

iniquities. Praised be God, that he hath given you this sorrowful heart in respect of righteousness; and I pray you let me be partaker of these godly sorrows for sin, which be the testimony of the presence of the Holy Ghost.

Did not the sword of sorrow pierce the heart of the elect and blessed mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weep bitterly for his sins, which was so beloved of Christ? Did not Mary Magdalene wash the feet of our Saviour with her tears, and received therewithal remission of her sevenfold sins? Be of good comfort, therefore, mine own dear heart, in this thy sorrow; for it is the earnest-penny of eternal consolation. In thy sorrow laugh, for the Spirit of God is
Matt. v. with thee. "Blessed be they (saith Christ), that mourn, for they shall be comforted." "They went forth and wept," saith
Psal. cxxvi. the prophet; "such shall come again having their gripes[1] full of gladness." And although a sorrowful heart in consideration
Psal. li. of his sin be an acceptable sacrifice before God, whereby we are stirred up to more thankfulness unto God, knowing
Luke vii. that much is forgiven us that we might love the more; yet the man of God must keep a measure in the same, lest he be swallowed up by too much sorrow. St Paul would not
1 Thess. iv. the Thessalonians to be sorry as other men which have no
2 Cor. vii. hope. Such a sorrow is not commendable, but worketh damnation, and is far from the children of God; who are continually sorrowful in God, when they look upon their own unworthiness and hope of forgiveness. For God to this end
Rom. v. by his Spirit setteth the sins of his elect still before them, that where they perceive sin to abound, there they might be assured that grace shall superabound; and bringeth them down unto hell, that he might lift them up with greater joy unto heaven. Wherefore, mine own bowels in Christ, as long as you are not void altogether of hope, be not dismayed through your pensive heart for your sins, how huge soever they have been; for God is able to forgive more than you are able to sin; yea, and he will forgive him which with hope is sorry for his sins.

But know, brother, that as oft as we do go about by the help of God's Spirit to do that is good, the evil spirit Satan layeth hard wait to turn the good unto evil, and goeth

[1 Gripes: grasp.]

about to mix the detestable darnel[2] of desperation with the godly sorrow of a pure penitent heart. You be not ignorant of his malicious subtlety; and how that continually he assaulteth that good, which the grace of God planteth. I see the battle betwixt you and him; but the victory is yours, yea, and that daily. For you have laid hold upon the anchor of salvation, which is hope in Christ, the which will not suffer you to be made ashamed. Be not discomforted that you have this conflict; but be glad that God hath given you the same, to try your faith, and that you might appear daily worthy of the kingdom of God, for the which you strive. God beholdeth your striving faith against Satan, and is pleased with your mighty resistance. The Spirit which is in you is mightier than all the adversary's power. Tempt he may, and, lying await at your heels, give you a fall unawares; but overcome he shall not, yea, he cannot, for you are sealed up already with a lively faith to be the child of God for ever; and whom God hath once sealed for his own, him he never utterly forsaketh. "The just falleth seven times, but he riseth again." [Prov. xxiv. 16.] It is man's frailty to fall, but it is the property of the devil's child to lie still. This strife against sin is a sufficient testimony that you are the child of God; for if you were not, you should feel no such malice as he now troubleth you withal. When this strong Goliah hath the hold, all things be in peace which he possesseth; and because he hath you not, he will not suffer you unassaulted. But stand fast, and hold out the buckler of faith, and with the sword of God's promises smite him on the scalp, that he may receive a deadly wound, and never be able to stand against you any more. St James telleth you that he is but a coward, saying, "Resist the devil, and he will fly away." [Luke xi.] [James iv.] It is the will of God that he should thus long tempt you, and not go away as yet; or else he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he shall receive the foil at your hands, and increase the crown of your glory; for he that overcometh shall be crowned.

Therefore glory in your temptations, since they shall turn to your felicity. Be not afraid of your continual assaults, which be occasions of your daily victory. "The word of God abideth for ever:" "In what hour soever a sinner repenteth [1 Pet. i. 23.] [Ezek. iii.]

[2] Darnel: tares.

[Rom. viii. 33.] him of his sins, they be forgiven." "Who can lay any thing to the charge of God's elect?" Do you not perceive the manifest tokens of your election? first, your vocation to the gospel, and after your vocation the manifest gifts of the Spirit of God, given unto you above many other of your condition, with godliness which believeth and yieldeth to the authority of the scriptures, and is zealous for the same? Seeing you are God's own darling, who can hurt you? Be not of a deject mind for these temptations, neither make your unfeigned friends to be more sorrowful for you than need doth require. Since God hath willed you at your baptism in Christ to be *Careless*, why do you make yourself careful? "Cast all your care on him;" "set the Lord before your eyes always, for he is on your right side that you shall not be moved." Behold the goodness of God toward me. I am careless, being fast closed in a pair of stocks, which pinch me for very straitness; and will you be careful? I will not have that unseemly addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth; for doubtless you have none other cause but so to be. Pray, I beseech you, that I may be still careless in my careful estate, as you have cause to be careless in your easier condition. Be thankful, and put away all care; and then I shall be joyful in my strait present care.

[1 Pet. v. 7.] [Psal. xvi. 8.]

Commend me to all our brethren, and desire them to pray for me that I may overcome my temptations; for the devil rageth against me. I am put in the stocks in a place alone, because I would not answer to such articles as they would charge me withal, in a corner, at the bishop's appointment; and because I did not come to mass when the bishop sent for me. I will lie all the days of my life in the stocks (by God's grace), rather than I will consent to the wicked generation. Praise God, and be joyful, that it hath pleased him to make us worthy to suffer somewhat for his name's sake. The devil must rage for ten days. Commend me to master Fokes, and thank him for his law books; but law, neither equity, will take any place among these blood-thirsty. I would, for your sake, their unjust dealing were noted unto the parliament house, if it might avail. God shorten these evil days! I have answered the bishop meetly plain already; and I say to him, if he will call me in open judgment, I will answer

[Rev. ii. 10.]

him as plainly as he will require: otherwise I have refused, because I fear they will condemn me in hugger-mugger[1]. The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more for lack of light; and that I have written I cannot read myself, and God knoweth it is written far uneasily: I pray God you may pick out some understanding of my mind towards you. Written in a coal-house of darkness out of a pair of painful stocks, by thine own in Christ,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER IV.

A Letter of JOHN CARELESS, *written to* MASTER PHILPOT; *being an answer to the former letter.*

A FAITHFUL friend is a strong defence; whoso findeth such a one, findeth a treasure.

A faithful friend hath no peer: the weight of gold and silver is not to be compared to the goodness of his faith.

A faithful friend is a medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord shall find him.—*Ecclesiasticus* VI.

The Father of mercy, and God of all consolation, comfort you with his eternal Spirit, my most dear and faithful loving friend, good master Philpot, as you have comforted me by the mighty operation of the same: the everlasting God be praised therefore for ever! Amen.

Ah, my dear heart, and most loving brother, if I should do nothing else day and night so long as the days of heaven do endure, but kneel on my knees and read psalms, I can never be able to render unto God condign[2] thanks for his great mercy, fatherly kindness, and most loving compassion,

[1 Hugger-mugger: in the dark.]
[2 Condign: suitable.]

extended unto me most vile, sinful, wicked, and unworthy wretch. Oh that the Lord would open my mouth, and give me a thankful heart, that from the bottom of the same might flow his continual praise! Oh that my sinful flesh, (which is the cause of my sorrow,) were clean separated from me, that I might sing psalms of thanksgiving unto the Lord's name for ever; that with good Samuel's mother I might continually record this noble verse following, the which by good experience I have found most true—praised be my good God therefore! "The Lord (saith the good woman,) killeth and maketh alive: he bringeth down to hell and fetcheth up again." Praised be that Lord for ever, yea, and praised be his name, for that he hath given me true experience and lively feeling of the same. Blessed be the Lord God, whose mercy endureth for ever, which hath not dealt with me according to my deep deserts, nor destroyed me in his displeasure, when I had justly deserved it. Oh, "what reward shall I give again unto the Lord, for all the great benefits that he hath done for my soul? I will gladly receive the cup of salvation" at his hand, and will worship his name with prayer and with praise.

I Kings ii.

[Psal. cxvi. 12, 13.]

Ah, my dear heart, yea, most dear unto me in the Lord, think not this sudden change in me to be some fickle fantasy of my foolish head (as indeed some other would surely suspect it to be); for doubtless it is the marvellous doing of the Lord, most merciful unto me his unworthy creature. God, for his great mercy's sake, give me grace to be more thankful unto him than I heretofore have been, and keep me that I never fall forth of his favour again! And know, my dear brother, and most blessed messenger of the Lord, whose beautiful feet have brought much glad tidings unto my soul, what shall I do or say unto you, in the least part to recompense your fatherly affection and godly care, that you continually keep for me? Oh that God would give me the spirit of fervent prayer, that I might yet that way supply some little part of my duty toward you! Ah, my true loving friend, how soon did you lay aside all other business to make a sweet plaister for my wounded conscience, yea, and that out of a painful pair of stocks, which place must needs be uneasy to write in! But God hath brought you into a strait place,

that you might set my soul at liberty. Out of your pinching and painful seat, you have plentifully poured upon me your precious nard, the sweet savour whereof hath greatly refreshed my tired soul. The Lord likewise refresh you, both body and soul, by pouring the oil of his gracious Spirit into your sweet heart.

Ah, good Jeremy, hath Pashur put thee in the stocks? Jer. xx. Why, now thou hast the right reward of a prophet. Thy glory never began to appear until now. I doubt not but shortly, instead of Ahikam the son of Shaphan, Jesus the Jer. xxvi. Son of the living God will come and deliver thee forth of the hands of all thine enemies, and will also make good, against them and the antichristian synagogue, all the words that thou hast spoken in his name. The Lord hath made thee this Jer. i. day a strong defended tower, an iron pillar and a brasen wall against the whole rabble of antichrist; and though they fight against thee never so fiercely, yet shall they not overcome thee; for the Lord himself is with thee to help and deliver Jer. xv. thee, and he will rid thee out of the hands of the wicked, and will deliver thee out of the hands of the tyrants. And in that you are not busy in casting pearls before swine, nor in Matt. vii. giving holy things unto dogs, you are much to be commended in my simple judgment. And sure I am, that your circumspect and modest behaviour hitherto hath been as much to God's glory and confusion of your enemies, as any man's doings that are gone before you. Wherefore mine advice and most earnest desire is, with all other of your loving friends, that you still keep that order[1] with those blood-thirsty bishops that you have begun.

For though in conclusion they will surely have your blood; yet shall they come by it with shame enough, and to their perpetual infamy whilst the world doth endure. They would indeed condemn you in hugger-mugger to darken God's glory, if it might be; but Satan's thoughts are not unknown to you, and the depth of his subtlety is by you well foreseen. Therefore let them do whatsoever God shall suffer them to do; for I know all things shall turn to your best. Though you lie in the dark, slorried[2] with the bishop's black coal dust,

[1 Order: method.]
[2 Slorried: bedaubed.]

yet shall you shortly be restored to the heavenly light, and
Psal. lxviii. made as white as snow in Salmon, and as the wings of a dove that is covered with silver wings, and her feathers like gold. You know, the vessel, before it is made bright, is soiled with oil and other things, that it may scour the better. Oh, happy be you, that you be now in the scouring house; for shortly you shall be set upon the celestial shelf as bright as angels.[1]

Therefore, my dear heart, I will now, according to your loving request, cast away all care, and rejoice with you and praise God for you, and pray for you day and night. Yea, I will now, with God's grace, sing psalms of praise and thanksgiving with you; for now my soul is turned into her old rest again, and hath taken a sweet nap in Christ's lap. I have cast my care upon the Lord, which careth for me; and will be *Careless* according to my name, in that respect which you would have me. I will leave out my unseemly addition as long as I live; for it can take no place where true faith and hope is resident. So soon as I had read your most godly and comfortable letter, my sorrows vanished away as smoke in the wind, my spirit revived, and comfort came again; whereby I am sure the Spirit of God was the author of it.

Oh, good master Philpot, which art a principal pot indeed, filled with most precious liquor, as it appeareth by the plenteous pouring forth of the same: oh, pot most happy, of the high Potter ordained to honour, which dost contain such heavenly treasure in thy earthen vessel: oh, pot thrice happy, in whom Christ hath wrought a great miracle, altering thy
[John ii. 9.] nature and turning water into wine, and that of the best, whereout the master of the feast hath filled my cup so full, that I am become drunken in joy of the Spirit through the same. When martyrdom shall break thee, O vessel of honour, I know the fragrant savour of thy precious nard will much rejoice the heavy hearts of Christ's true members; although the Judases will grudge and murmur at the same, yea, and burst out into words of slander, saying, It is but
[Mark xiv. 4.] lost and waste. Be not offended, dear heart, at my metaphorical speech; for I am disposed to be merry, and with
[2 Sam. vi. 14.] David to dance before the ark of the Lord; and though

[1 Angels: a play upon the word *angel*, a silver coin.]

you play upon a pair of organs[2] not very comely or easy to the flesh, yet the sweet sound that came from the same causeth me thus to do.

Oh that I were with you in body, as presently I am in spirit, that I might sing all care away in Christ; for now the time of comfort is come. I hope to be with you shortly, if all things happen aright; for my old friends of Coventry have put the council in remembrance of me not six days ago, saying that I am more worthy to be burnt than any that was burned yet. God's blessing on their hearts for their good report! God make me worthy of that dignity, and hasten the time, that I might set forth his glory. Pray for me, dear heart, I beseech you, and will[3] all your company to do the same; and I will pray God for you all so long as I live. And now farewell in Christ, thou blessed of God's own mouth: I will for a time take my leave, but not my last farewell. Blessed be the time that ever I came into the king's bench, to be joined in love and fellowship with such dear children of the Lord. My good brother Bradford shall not be dead while you be alive; for verily the spirit of him doth rest on you in most ample wise. Your letters of comfort unto me in each point do agree, as though the one were a copy of the other. He hath planted in me, and you do water; the Lord give good increase! My dear brethren and fellow-prisoners here have them humbly and heartily commended unto you and your company, mourning for your misery, but yet rejoicing for your plenteous consolation and comfort in Christ. We are all cheerful and merry under our cross, and do lack no necessaries: praised be God for his providence, and great mercies towards us, for evermore. Amen.

JOHN CARELESS.

[2 Organs: the stocks.]
[3 Will: desire.]

LETTER V. (C.)

To certain godly women, forsaking their own country, and going beyond the seas, in the time of persecution, for the testimony of the Gospel.

THE Spirit of truth, revealed unto you, my dearly beloved, by the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, be continually abiding with you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the lively temple of God, through the mighty operation of his power. Amen.

I read in the evangelists of certain godly women that ministered unto Christ, following him in the days of his passion, and never forsook him, but, being dead in his grave, brought oil to anoint him, until that he had shewed himself unto them after his resurrection, and bidden them shew unto his disciples, which at his passion were dispersed, and tell them that he was risen, and that they should see him in Galilee. To whom I may justly compare you (my loving sisters in Christ), who of late have seen him suffer in his members, and have ministered to their necessity, anointing them with the comfortable oil of your charitable assistance, even to the death. And now, since ye have seen Christ to live in the ashes of them whom the tyrants have slain, he willeth you to go away, upon just occasion offered you, and to declare to our dispersed brethren and sisters, that he is risen, and liveth in his elect members in England, and by death doth overcome infidelity, and that they shall see him in Galilee, which is by forsaking this world, and by a faithful desire to pass out of this world by those ways which he with his holy martyrs hath gone on before. God therefore, entire sisters, direct your way, as he did Abraham and Tobias unto a strange land. God give you health both of body and soul, that ye may go from virtue to virtue, and grow from strength to strength, until ye may see face to face the God of Sion in his holy hill, with the innumerable company of his blessed martyrs and saints. Let there be continual ascensions unto heaven in your hearts. Let there be no decrease of any virtue, which is already planted in

[Psal. lxxxiv. 7.]

you. Be as the light of the just, such as, Solomon saith, increaseth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the strength of God be commended in your weak vessels, as it is. Be examples of faith and sobriety to all that ye shall come in company withal. Let your godly conversation speak, where your tongue may not, in the congregation. Be swift to hear, and slow to speak, after the counsel of St James. Be not curious about other men's doings, but be occupied in prayer and continual meditation, with reverent talking of the word of God, without contention, amongst the saints. Let your faith shine in a strange country, as it hath done in your own; that your Father which is in heaven may be glorified by you to the end. [Prov. iv. 18.] [James i. 19.]

This farewell I send you, not as a thing needful, which know already what your duty is, and be desirous to perform the same; but as one that would have you understand, that he is mindful of your godly conversation, whereof he hath had good experience, and therefore writeth this to be as a perpetual memorial betwixt you and him, until our meeting together before God; where we shall joy that we have here lovingly put one another in memory of our duty to perform it. Farewell again, mine own bowels in Christ, and take me with you wheresoever you go, and leave yourselves with me, that in spirit we may be present one with another. Commend me to the whole congregation of Christ, willing them not to leave their country without witness of the gospel, after that we all be slain, which already be stalled up and appointed to the slaughter; and, in the mean season, to pray earnestly for our constancy, that Christ may be glorified in us and in them, both by life and death. Farewell in the Lord. [Phil. i. 20.]

Yours for ever,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER VI. (C.)

An exhortation to a sister of his, constantly and cheerfully to stick to the truth, and to abide the trial of that doctrine which she had fruitfully professed.

God the eternal Father, who hath justified you by the blood of his Son Jesus Christ, and called you to hallow his name through a good conversation and profession of life, he sanctify you with daily increase of virtue and faith by his holy Spirit; that you may appear a vessel of sanctification in the midst of this wicked and perverse generation, to the laud and praise of the gospel. Amen.

I have occasion, mine own dear sister, to praise God in you for two causes: the one, that to your ability you are ready to shew yourself a natural loving sister unto me your poor afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens you have eftsoons[1] testified being absent, as also presently visiting me; which well declareth that you be a very natural sister indeed, and to be praised in this behalf: but in the other, that you be also a sister to me in faith after Christ's gospel, I am occasioned to thank God so much the more, how much the one excelleth the other, and the spiritual consanguinity is more perdurable than that which is of flesh and blood, and is a worker of that which is by nature—for commonly such as be ungodly, be unnatural and only lovers of themselves, as daily experience teacheth us.
[1 Pet. i. 23.] The living Lord, which through the incorruptible seed of his word hath begotten you to be my liege[2] sister, give you grace so to grow in that generation, that you may increase to a perfect age in the Lord, to be my sister with Christ for ever. Look, therefore, that you continue a faithful sister, as you are called and are godly entered, not only to me but to all the church of Christ, yea, to Christ himself; who voucheth you, in this your unfeigned faith, worthy to be his sister. Consider this dignity to surmount all the vain dignity of the world, and let it accordingly prevail more with you, than all earthly delights; for thereby you are called to an equal portion of the

[1 Eftsoons: from time to time.]
[2 Liege: attached, devoted.]

everlasting inheritance of Christ, if now in nowise you do shew yourself an unnatural sister to him in forsaking him in trouble; which I trust you will never, for no kind of worldly respect, do. You are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that natural love you owe unto Christ, and you shall be tried with God's people through a sieve of great affliction; for so Satan desireth us to be sifted, that through fear of sharp troubles we might fall from the stableness of our faith, and so be deprived of that honour, joy, and reward, which is prepared for such as continue faithful brothers and sisters in the Lord's covenant to the end. Therefore the wise man, in the book of Ecclesiasticus, biddeth them that come to the service of the Lord, to prepare themselves to suffer temptations. Since, then, that for the glory of God and our faith we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adversary hath done all that he can, yet we may be stable and stand: this, Christ our first begotten brother looketh for at our hands; and all our brethren and sisters in heaven desire to see our faith through afflictions to be perfect, that we might fulfil their number; and the universal church here militant rejoiceth at our constancy; whom all, by the contrary, we should make sorry, to the danger of the loss both of body and soul. Fear not, therefore, whatsoever be threatened of the wicked world: prepare your back, and see it be ready to carry Christ's cross. And if you see any untowardness in you (as the flesh is continually repugnant to the will of God), ask with faithful prayer, that the good Spirit of God may lead your sinful flesh whither it would not; for if we will dwell in the flesh and follow the counsel thereof, we shall never do the will of God, neither the work that tendeth to our salvation. You are at this present in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drink of the whore's cup, unless you be vigilant in prayer. Take heed the serpent seduce you not from the simplicity of your faith, as he did our first mother Eve. Let no worldly fellowship make you partaker of iniquity. He that toucheth tar cannot but be defiled thereby, and with such as be perverse a man shall soon be perverted; with the holy you shall be holy. Therefore say continually, with the prophet David, "Unto the saints which be on the earth, all my will is on them." You have been sanctified and made pure through the truth: take

Luke xxii.

John xxi.

[Rev. xvii. 4.]

[2 Cor. xi. 3.]

[Ecclus. xiii. 1.]

[Psal. xviii. 26.]

Psal. xvi.

heed you be not unholied and defiled, lest the last be worse than the first.

I write not this because I stand in any doubt of your sincere continuance, of the which I have had so good experience: but because the days be evil; and in the same it is the duty of every one of us to exhort another. I am bold to put you, my good sister, in remembrance of that, which doth not a little comfort me to remember in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not, you will take that in good part which cometh from your brother both in spirit and body, who tendereth your salvation as earnestly as his own; that we might joy together eternally, with such joy as the world shall never be able to take from us. Thanks be unto God! you have begun to run a good and great time well in the ways of the Lord: run out the race to the end which you have begun, and then shall you receive the crown of glory.

2 Tim. ii. None shall be crowned but such as lawfully striveth. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good: and the Lord shall make you one of those faithful virgins that shall follow the

Rev. xiv. Lamb wheresoever he goeth—the which Christ grant both you and me! Amen.

Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord unfeignedly. God increase our faith, and give us grace never to be ashamed of his gospel! That same request which I have made to my brother Thomas, I make also to you; desiring you, by all means you can, to accomplish my request that my sureties might be satisfied with that is mine own to the contentation of my mind, which cannot be quiet until they be discharged: therefore, I pray you, help to purchase quietness, that I might depart out of this world in peace. My dissolution I look for daily; but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of so high an honour, as to die for the testimony of his truth. Pray that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy, as he hath done of long imprisonment—for the which his name be praised for ever. Pray and look for the coming of the Lord, whose wrath is great over us; and I will pray for you as long as I live. The 9th of July, in the king's bench.

This was for the first fruits of his archdeaconry, whereof all the time of his imprisonment he had no commodity, and yet his sureties were compelled to pay the same.

Your own loving brother, as well in faith as in body,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER VII. (C.)

To my dear friend and brother in the Lord, MASTER ROBERT HARRINGTON.

GENTLE Master Harrington, I cannot tell what condign thanks I may give unto God for you, in respect to that great gentleness and pain which you have taken for the relief of me and of other our afflicted brethren in Christ. God be praised for his mercy, whose loving providence we have seen towards us by such faithful stewards as you have been towards a great many. Blessed be you of God, for the loving care which you have taken for his poor flock. God hath reserved your reward of thanks in heaven; and therefore I do not go about to render you any, lest I might seem to judge that you looked for that here, which is reserved to a better place.

I thank God for that I have found by your faithful and diligent industry; and God forgive me my unworthiness of so great benefits! God give me grace to serve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy! Glorious is the course of the martyrs of Christ at this day. Never had the elect of God a better time for their glory than this is: now may they be assured, under the cross, that they are Christ's disciples for ever. Methinks I see you desiring to be under the same: the flesh draweth back, but the Spirit saith it must be brought John xxi. whither it would not. Here is the victory of the world; here is true faith and everlasting glory. Who is he which desireth not to be found faithful to his Master? And now is the time that every faithful servant of Christ hath just opportunity to shew himself a glorious soldier in the Lord's sight. Now do the Amalekites invade the true Israelites, that the Israelites might with speed be glorified. I need not, for want of understanding, to admonish you hereof; but, as a willing soldier in Christ, to exhort you so to run as you may gain the victory, and that speedily, with us. A man that is bid to a glorious feast, wisheth his friend to go with him and to be partaker thereof. God doth call me (most unworthy) among other, to drink of the bride-cup of his Son; whereby we shall be

made worthy, as many of our brethren have been before us, to sit at the right hand and at the left hand of Christ. Oh, what unspeakable condition is that! May any worldly thing stay us from the desire thereof? Since we seek the kingdom of God, why do we not apprehend it, being so near offered unto us? [James iv. 8.] Let us approach near unto God, and God will draw near unto [Cant. i. 4.] us. God draw us after him, that we may all run after the savour of his sweet ointments! Christ anoint us, that we may be suppled in these evil days to run lightly unto the glory of the Lord! Shame, imprisonment, loss of goods, and shedding of our blood, be the just price which we must willingly bestow for the same. Wherefore, dearly beloved in the Lord, let not the great charges keep you back from buying this glory; for the reward is ten thousand fold greater than the price. That you have married a wife, (whom God bless!) I cannot excuse you from this mart; but you must bring your wife for a usury to the Lord, whose pleasure is in godly yoke-fellows. I wish you to be as I am,—except these horrible bands, but yet most comfortable to the spirit, assuring us that [2 Thess. i. 5.] we are made worthy, through Christ, of the kingdom for the which we suffer.

Praised be the Lord for the affliction which we suffer, and he give us strength to continue to the end! Commend me to master Heath, and tell him that I would wish him, with me, to prove how apt he is to carry the cross of Christ. I pray for his continuance in Christ, as for mine own. Commend me to his wife and to mistress Hall, certifying them that I am brought to the gates of hell, that I might never enter into the same, but be raised up from hell to heaven through the word that sanctifieth us. Commend me to master Elsing and his wife, and thank them that they remembered to provide me some ease in prison; and tell them that though my lord's coal-house be but very black, yet it is more to be desired of the faithful than the queen's palace. God make her a joyful mother, and preserve them both to the comfort of God's people! Thus for this time farewell, dear brother. Written in post haste because of strait keeping.

This day I look to be called before the commissioners again. Pray, dear brother, for the Spirit of wisdom to remain with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thank you both

for your tokens. Your token I have sent to your wife; and my token unto you is my faithful heart with this letter. Commend me to all my friends; and tell them, I thank God, I am cheerful in Christ, wishing them to fear God more than man, and to learn to despise earnestly the vanities of this world; desiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelity. Amen.

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER VIII. (C.)

To MASTER ROBERT GLOVER[1], *prisoner in Coventry for the maintenance of God's Gospel.*

THE knowledge of God which hath enlightened your mind with the true religion of Christ, and now doth in the beginning of darkness shine in you to the commendation of your true faith, and to the strengthening of many weak brethren, remain with you to the end, through the mighty operation of the Holy Ghost! Amen.

It is a singular comfort to the afflicted flock of Christ, to behold such as have been ministers and professors of his truth in religion to stand in the same, and that in the time of persecution, whenas the same may not be abiden by before the face of the rich and mighty in this world, to be preached without present danger. So St Paul willeth Timothy, both in season and out of season to be earnest in sowing the word. And praised be God that we here in prison for the testimony thereof do hear of your diligence in this behalf, which cease not to do the office of an evangelist, although it be with danger of affliction. Such faithful ministers be to be honoured, that do submit their own heads to peril for the love of the gospel. Such Christ will acknowledge and confess before his Father in heaven; and they are those which have bidden[2] with him in temptations, and therefore shall eat and drink with him at his table in the kingdom of heaven. I thought it therefore my duty, at the motion[3] of this bearer, albeit I have no bodily acquaintance

[2 Tim. iv. 2.]

[Luke xxii. 28—30.]

[1] He was condemned and burnt as a heretic at Coventry, Sept. 20, 1555.]

[2] Bidden: abiden, continued.]

[3] Motion: request.]

with you, to exhort you, as St Paul willeth us to exhort one another as long as we are in this life, boldly to continue in this good and necessary work of the Lord; specially in these evil days, in the which Satan rageth against the church of Christ, and daily imprisoneth and robbeth the members thereof, for their faithful testimony; and be you assured, he will not leave you untouched, for above all other he seeketh to suppress the good ministers of the word, for they be such as have destroyed his kingdom. But you must not, for fear of his odious and tedious assaults, withdraw yourself from your vocation; but rather provoke him by your constant profession to do his worst, knowing that the same shall turn unto you to the best, even to the crown of your glory. There is none crowned but such as hold out to the goal-end; and therefore our Saviour Christ saith in the gospel, [Matt. x. 22.] *Beatus qui perseverat usque in finem.* You run well: God is praised therein, and the afflicted church much comforted by so faithful a captain: run out therefore (as I doubt not you will), and fear nothing of that you shall suffer for your [Rev. ii. 10.] labour; for if you be faithful unto death, you shall assuredly have the reward of eternal life. Many go on well till they come to the pikes; and then they turn their backs and give over in the plain field, to the shame of Christ and his church, that hath so faint-hearted soldiers in his host at the time of need, in the which his glory ought most manfully to be shewed.

I doubt not but you have already cast the price[1] of this your building of the house of God, that it is like to be no Rom. viii. less than your life; for I believe (as Paul saith), that God hath appointed us in these latter days like sheep to the slaughter. Antichrist is come again, and he must make a feast to Beelzebub his father, of many christian bodies, for the restoring again of his kingdom: let us watch and pray, that the same day may not find us unready. The peace of God be with you, and remain with you for ever! Your loving brother in Christ, and in spirit your familiar friend, captive in the king's bench.

JOHN PHILPOT.

[1 Cast the price: counted the cost.]

LETTER IX. (C.)

To my dearly beloved Sister in the Lord, MISTRESS HEATH.

THE light of the gospel of Christ, which hath enlightened you with the true understanding of faith, be daily increased in you, my dearly beloved sister, unto the perfect day of the Lord, through the mighty operation of his Spirit! Amen.

Whereas you have required of me a token at your departing, that might be a remembrance with you of my brotherly love towards you, I mused, of diverse things, what I might commend unto you best; and among all other I found none so certain a token either of the love of God toward us, or else of the love of us one to another, as to bear the cross together with Christ. To bear the cross is to be partaker of the afflictions of Christ, which now he suffereth in his members, for the accomplishment of his body the church, which are we that believe in him sincerely: which is the surest token of God's love towards us that we can have in this world; for "whom God loveth he chasteneth," and, as it is written, Heb. xii. "he chasteneth every son whom he receiveth." Wherefore, above all things, love the cross of Christ, under the which all the church of Christ in England now is; and be content to have your faith tried every day by some cross or other, as it pleaseth God to put on you: and if God putteth no grievous cross upon you, let your brethren's cross be your cross, which is a certain token of true brotherly love.

If the church in England had learned, with the gospel, to have borne the cross of Christ, as all that be professors of the gospel be called thereunto, they would not so lightly, at the commandment of man, have turned from the ways of salvation to their old vomit again, contrary to their conscience; and all to avoid the cross, the merciful sign of God's love towards us. If the cross were not, the faithful could not be known. If the cross were not, God should not so manifestly appear to be our deliverer and comforter, as he doth shew himself in the midst thereof unto all them that put their trust in him. Therefore believe them verily to be in most happy estate, that be under the cross; and

such as do utterly abhor the same are cowards, and not fit soldiers for the Lord. We have all received the credit of faith from God in Christ, that we should beautify the same, —or rather, God in the same. We have this treasure in
2 Cor. iv. brittle vessels: let us take heed that the brittleness of the vessels shed not out our precious treasure on the earth, as, it is lamentable to see at this day, many have most unfaithfully done. Are they worthy of the heavenly kingdom, which here esteem more earth than heaven? Oh palpable infidelity! Will not God require the credit of faith, which he hath committed unto us? Yea, verily.

Is this the usury of faith, to love the world more than the gospel, and to fear man more than God? If men, which count themselves stronger and worthier vessels, have thus unfaithfully dealt in the things of God, let the weakness of women be more firm in their faith to the glory of God, whose might appeareth in weakness. There is no exception of person before God: both man and woman be one in God; and that person in all sorts of people is acceptable to him, that striveth to do his will. Wherefore contend in these cross-days, which be the love-days of God towards us, to shew yourself faithful to him that calleth you, and to be ready to do his will according to true knowledge, and that under the cross. God hath given you a faithful guide, whom see you love with all humility, patience, and obedience, as it becometh a holy woman to be subject to her faithful head in the Lord; and comfort him in our common cross, and bid him cheerfully take up the one end, and you will bear the other—a double string knit together. As you in your
[Eph. v. 32.] godly matrimony do represent the mystery of Christ and his church, so continue you lively members of faith in the same; and learn daily more and more to bear the cross of Christ, that others seeing your strength may be comforted, and be ashamed of their weakness in their master's cause.

The faithful servant the Lord loveth, which bringeth his talent to his table with increase. Now is the time to increase to the Lord, and not to decrease; to multiply our faith under the cross, and not to diminish it. The ways of the just do
Hos. vi. increase as the dawning of the day: embrace therefore the
Gen. ix. cross, as the rainbow of God's merciful covenant; pray that

we may together end our course therein with joy. Take my token in good worth, until we be made partakers of the glory of the cross.

Out of my lord of London's coal-house, the 11th of November.

Yours,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER X. (C.)

To my brother JOHN CARELESS, *prisoner in the King's Bench.*

THE grace of God the Father, through his dear Son Christ our Saviour, with perseverance in all godly verity, be with thee, my dear brother Careless, and with all my prison-fellows! Amen.

Ah, my own love in Christ, I am sorry to hear of thy great trouble which these schismatics do daily put thee to. I would I were with thee, in part to relieve thy grief; but since that it hath pleased God otherwise, take my advice in this your conflict, and be patient whatsoever your adversaries can say or do against you. Know that you are appointed for the defence of the gospel, for the which you (God be praised!) do suffer: yet you must understand that you are but a voice in the wilderness, and a planter, and that it is God that must give the increase. And therefore, if there come not such fruit of your good labours as you would wish, be content, and know that a stony ground cannot fructify; yet shall not God forget your labour, but you shall reap as plenteously in the day of reward, as though it had increased after your expectation. Have patience, therefore, in your labour, and let not care eat out your heart. Commit the success to God; and cease not with charity to be earnest in the defence of the truth, against these arrogant and self-will-blinded scatterers.

These were certain free-will men, arrogant, froward, and unquiet spirits.

These sects are necessary, for the trial of our faith and for the beautifying thereof. Be not perverted with them that be perverse and intractable: they resist not you, they resist Christ; and be workers against their own salvation.

Shew as much modesty and humility as you may possible: so shall your labour please God best, and your adversaries receive the more shame; and others, seeing your modest conversation amongst these contentious babblers, shall glorify God in his truth by you, and the more abhor them, as you see it hath come to pass in times past. Be content that
2 Sam. xvi. Shimei do rail at David and cast stones awhile: be sure, his railing judgment will fall upon his own pate. Have always that notable rule of Christ's church before your eyes, which
1 Cor. xi. St Paul writeth; that "if anybody be contentious, neither we, neither the church of God, hath any such custom."

Desire all our brethren in the bowels of Jesus Christ to keep the bond of peace; which is the unity of Christ's church, where be all the treasures of spiritual consolation in
Heb. xii. heavenly things. Let no "root of bitterness spring up," which the devil with all diligence seeketh to thrust in amongst the children of God. Kiss one another with the kiss of unfeigned brotherly love; and take one another by the hand cheerfully, and say, "Let us take up our cross together, and go to the Mount of Calvary, and there be willing to suffer whatsoever it pleaseth God we shall. Hitherto we have not resisted
[Heb. xii. 4.] to blood-shedding. Our blood must not be too dear for the Lord, and then his kingdom shall not be too dear for us." Thus exhort one another to offer yourselves a joyful sacrifice unto God; for this is that pleasant sacrifice wherewith his wrath shall be pacified, which is now kindled most justly against us. Be thankful unto God, that it hath pleased him to make you worthy of this glorious affliction; yea, and I pray you give thanks unto God for me, that it hath been his good will to take me, most filthy and unthankful sinner, to be one of this number. My joy of the love of God towards me in this behalf is such, that it maketh all my strait imprisonment to seem pleasure: God be praised, I cannot be sorry though I would.

Oh, how great is the love of God towards us! Be merry, brethren, and rejoice continually in the Lord; for the victory is ours, yea, heaven is ours, and all the glory thereof. Faint not, but run out, for we are even at an end. Be glad of nothing so much, as in the mortification of the old Adam: murmur not, in no case, whatsoever necessity you be in. Com-

municate your necessities to me, and to others of his people, and God will make us to divide stakes. Be always praising God, talking, comforting, teaching, and exhorting in God, and he will not see you utterly destitute. I commend me to your faithful prayers all. And you, Careless, see that you be in my dungeon with me, as I am in spirit with you in the king's bench, and with you all.

Thine own brother,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER XI. (C.)

To MISTRESS ANN HARTIPOLE, *who has fallen from the sincerity of the gospel, which she had before long known and professed, to the pope and his idolatrous religion.*

THE grace of God and true light, wherewith he lighteneth the hearts of all the true and faithful believers, lovers, and followers of his holy gospel, lighten your heart by the mighty operation of his holy Spirit! Amen.

I have not hitherto been accustomed to write unto you in the matters of our common faith, which is now dangerously assaulted, especially for that otherwise, by corporal presence and mutual conference, we have had consolation in the same, as the time present did require. In the which I perceived your judgment and constancy to be so much, that I received, by your good and godly example, strength in the same; as I have done even from the beginning, before I was called unto the light of the gospel, in the which you went before me, and ministered occasion to me to follow, at such time as that blessed woman Ann Askew[1], (now a glorious martyr in the sight of Jesus Christ,) was harboured in your house; so that I thought it superfluous and not needful to write thereof unto you, that of so long time have been instructed, and by so many learned books confirmed. But now, hearing that the old serpent, our ancient enemy, which lieth in

[1 Or, *Ayscough:* "a young gentlewoman of condition, who was prosecuted for denying the corporal presence" of Christ in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and was burned in Smithfield, with three others, in June, 1546.]

continual wait of our steps, hath bitten you by the heel and given you a foul fall, I cannot but be heartily sorry, and, as brotherly charity moveth me, testify the same unto you by writing, for that I may not presently otherwise open myself in this behalf.

Alas, sister, that so sincere profession should receive so gross an infection, to the dishonour of God and of his church! What meaneth it that you are so suddenly departed from Jerusalem unto Jericho, to be a companion of thieves and idolaters, to the utter overthrowing of that good which you have professed? For, as St James teacheth us, "he that offendeth in one is guilty in all;" and to come to idolatry and strange worshipping of God, forbidden by his word, is of all transgressions the most detestable. Therefore I cannot cease to wonder how you could so soon be allured or drawn thereto. I had thought the love of the truth had been so graffed in your heart, that neither persecution, sword, fire, nor gallows might have brought this to pass, that at the voice of a handmaid, in the first temptation, you should have denied Christ. For not to walk after the sincerity of his gospel indeed is to deny him; and none "can be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils," which is the popish mass, and the malignant synagogue using the same.

Luke x.

[James ii. 10.]

[Matt. xxvi. 69, 70.]

[1 Cor. x. 21.]

Methink I hear your excuse, pretending your conscience to be sound before God notwithstanding; and that your conscience will give you leave thus to do, with the common sort of dissemblers both with God and man: but I must tell you plain, sister, in God's cause, that your conscience, so affected, is a sickly and unsound conscience and craftily blinded; for before God there is no such conscience allowed, which alloweth your body to do that which it condemneth. "We shall receive all according to that which we do in our bodies, whether it be good or evil;" and it is commanded us as well to glorify God in our bodies as in our souls. We must shew our faith by our outward conversation; "that men, seeing our good works, might glorify our Father which is in heaven." Will ye now with your presence go about to beautify that which hitherto you have justly destroyed? What do you else in so doing, but notify yourself to be an infidel to the church of Christ, that will be content to associate yourself with her

[2 Cor. v. 10.]

[1 Cor. vi. 20.]

[Matt. v. 16.]

enemy for the contentation of man? Hath ever any person of God so done, that was allowed therein? Be not deceived, good sister, with the persuasible words of man, neither be afraid of his threats. Follow the gospel of Christ according to true knowledge; and fear to do that, which by the same is straitly forbidden you. Tempt not God any longer by this evil doing, for you can do nothing more heinous in his sight. Let this halting be healed up, and turn not from the right ways of the Lord. Be not ashamed of his gospel, neither of the cross, which is the badge of the true and unfeigned professors thereof, which you see now his faithful (praised be his name therefore!) are so well content and willing to bear; but rather, as you are called, take up your cross and be assured thereby to enter into Christ's glory: for unless we suffer with him, we shall not reign with him; and if we die not with Christ, we shall not live with Christ. The cross now is the way to heaven: therefore I wish you should choose to be afflicted with the people of God, rather than to live in the tabernacles of the wicked. Do not any more that which of all things you have now most cause to repent, neither lay daily the foundation of repentance; but let this fall be a teaching unto you of the want of faith which is in you; and so become more fervent in prayer and godly exercises, that with this new year you may become a new woman in a godly and new perfection; the which God, for his mercy's sake in Christ, work both in you and me to the end! Amen. [2 Tim. ii. 11, 12.]

Written in haste by your brother in captivity,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER XII.

To a faithful woman and late wife to one of the bishops, which gave their lives in the Lord's quarrel.

Remember, dear sister, that your life in this world is a continual warfare to fight against the world, the flesh, and the devil, in the which you are appointed, for the trial of your faith and love to God, to fight manfully, to overcome: for the Spirit of God which is in you is stronger than he

which is in the world; and by this you may know that you are the child of God, even by the Spirit which striveth in you against the flesh and sin, and will not suffer sin to reign in you. This Spirit is obtained by often and daily reading and hearing the word of God, joined with faithful and hearty prayer: for diligent reading of God's word planteth the holy Spirit in you, and earnest prayer increaseth the same. Read therefore the word studiously, and pray heartily that the same good gift of faith which you have learned of your faithful husband and good bishop in the Lord, who hath gloriously yielded his life for the same, may be confirmed in you even unto death, that you may receive the same crown of glory which he now hath; for "precious is the death of the faithful in the Lord's sight:" therefore desire still to die to the Lord, and be glad to be poor both in body and spirit, and thus assure yourself the kingdom of heaven is yours.

Your own in the Lord,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER XIII.

Another Letter of exhortation to certain godly Brethren.

THE grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jesus Christ his eternal Son, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost our Comforter, strengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice, and live in the truth of Christ's gospel to the end! Amen.

He commendeth their faithful zeal to God's word.

I do much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your constant faith in the word of God, which you have so purely received; which do not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, albeit you suffer grief and trouble thereby; for the which I praise God most heartily: and the Lord of all strength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faithful zeal ye have to his truth and to his afflicted church. Therefore, that ye may the better stand and

bear the brunt of many temptations, which you are like[1] to be assaulted withal in these wicked and stormy days, I thought it good, as it is the duty of one christian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to will you with the wise man, to prepare yourselves to temptations; and to beware that ye, which yet do stand by the goodness of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an easy thing to begin to do well; but to continue out in well-doing is the only property of the children of God, and such as assuredly shall be saved. For so saith our Saviour in his gospel: "Blessed are they that persevere to the end." He exhorteth them to continue and to stand fast.

Let not therefore this certainty of your salvation, which is continuance in the sincerity of faith, slide from you. Esteem it more than all the riches and pleasures of this world; for it is the most acceptable treasure of eternal life. This is that precious stone for the which the wise merchantman, after the gospel, doth sell all that he hath, and buyeth the same. God, in the third of the Apocalypse, doth signify to the church, that there shall come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to try the dwellers on the earth; from the danger of which temptation all such shall be delivered as observe his word; which word there is called "the word of patience," to give us to understand, that we must be ready to suffer all kind of injuries and slanders for the profession thereof. Rev. iii. The word of patience.

Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it fast, that no man might bereave us of our crown of glory; and St Peter telleth us, now we are afflicted with divers assays, as it is need it should so be, "that the trial of our faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, glory, and honour of Jesus Christ." St Paul to the Hebrews sheweth us, that Christ our Saviour was in his humanity made perfect by afflictions, that we, being called to perfection in him, might more willingly sustain the troubles of the world, by the which God giveth all them that be exercised in the same for his sake his holiness. And in the twelfth chapter of the said epistle is written, "My son, refuse not the correction of the 1 Pet. i. [Heb. ii.]

[1] All like to be. Ed. 1684.]

Lord, nor shrink[1] not when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chastise every son whom he receiveth," &c. Christ, in the Gospel of St John, biddeth his disciples to look after afflictions, saying, "In the world ye shall have trouble, but in me ye shall have joy." And therefore in the midst of their trouble, in the twenty-first of St Luke, he biddeth them look up and lift up their heads, "for your redemption," saith he, "is at hand." And in the twenty-second he saith to all such as be afflicted for him, "You are those that have abiden with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eat and drink upon my table in my kingdom."

John xvi.

The fruit that cometh by bearing of the cross.

Oh, how glorious be the crosses of Christ, which bring the bearers of them unto so blessed an end! Shall we not be glad to be partakers of such shame as may bring us to so high a dignity? God open their eyes to see all things as they be, and to judge uprightly! Then doubtless we would think with Moses, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt's son. Then should we joyfully say with David, in all our adversities and troubles, "It is good, O Lord, thou hast brought me low, to the end I might learn thy righteousness." Therefore St Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the cross of Christ, and in other his infirmities: we have the commandment of Christ, daily to take up his cross and follow him. We have the godly ensamples of all his apostles and holy martyrs, which with great joy and exultation have suffered the loss of all lands, goods, and life, for the hope of a better reward, which is laid up for all those in heaven, that unfeignedly cleave to the gospel, and never be ashamed thereof.

[Ps. cxix. 71.]

[Gal. vi. 14.]

The delights of the world nothing comparable to them that are to come.

Great is the felicity of the world to the outward man, and very pleasant are the transitory delights thereof: but the rewards of the righteous, after the word of God, doth incomparably excel them all, insomuch that St Paul to the Romans doth plainly affirm, that all the tribulations of this world cannot deserve that glory which shall be shewed unto us.

[Rom. viii. 18.]

Let us therefore, good brethren and sisters, be merry and glad in these troublesome days, the which be sent of

[1] Nor shrink. 1684.]

God to declare our faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lord's sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but desire the Lord to haste the day of our death, in the which we might set forth by true confession his glory. Neither should we be afraid to meet our adversaries, which so earnestly seek our spoil and death, as Christ did Judas and that wicked rout which came to apprehend him, saying, "I am he whom ye seek." It is commanded us by the gospel, not to fear them that kill[2] the body, but to fear God, who can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. [Matt. x. 28.] So much we are bound to observe this commandment as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increase our faith, that we fear God more than man! The Lord give us such love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forsake all and follow him! Now will it appear what we love best; for to that we love we will stick. There is none to be counted worthy[3] a Christian, except he can find in his heart for Christ's sake, if the confession of his truth doth require it, to renounce all which he hath, and follow him; and in so doing he gaineth a hundred-fold more in this life (as our Saviour said to Peter), and hereafter is assured of eternal life. Behold, I pray you, what he loseth which in this life receiveth a hundred for one, with assurance of eternal life. O happy exchange! Perchance your outward man will say, If I were sure of this great recompence here, I could be glad to forsake all: but where is this hundred-fold in this life to be found? Yes, truly; for instead of[4] worldly riches which thou dost forsake, which be but temporal, thou hast found the everlasting riches of heaven, which be glory, honour, and praise, both before God, angels, and men; and for an earthly habitation, hast an eternal mansion with Christ in heaven; for even now thou art of the city and household of the saints with God, as it is verified in the fourth to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can last but a while, thou dost possess "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding;" and for the loss of a few friends, thou art made [Phil. iv. 7.]

Consideration of joys to come.

The note of a true Christian.

How a christian man gaineth a hundred-fold in this life.

A comparison between the loss and gain that cometh by following of Christ.

[2] *Can* kill, 1684. Ed.]
[3] Worthy to be counted, 1684.]
[4] *The* worldly riches, 1684.]

a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven, and a perpetual friend of all those that have died in the Lord from the beginning of the world. Is not this more than a hundredfold? Is not the peace of God, which we in this world have through faithful imitation of Christ (which the world cannot take from us), ten-thousand-fold more than those things that most highly be esteemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but mere anguish and a gnawing fury of hell: as of late God hath set example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forsake the peace of Christ's truth, which breedeth a worm in conscience that never shall rest.

Peace with God a thing incomparable.

O that we would weigh this with indifferent balances! Then should we not be dismayed of this troublous time, neither sorrow after a worldly manner for the loss which we are now like to sustain, as the weak, faithless persons do, which love their goods more than God, and the things visible above those which be invisible: but rather would heartily rejoice and be thankful, that it pleased God to call us to be soldiers in his cause against the works of hypocrisy, and to make us like unto our Saviour Christ in suffering, whereby we may assure ourselves of his eternal glory; for blessed are they, saith Christ, that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake. And as St Paul witnesseth to Timothy, "If we die with Christ, we shall live with Christ; and if we deny him, he will deny us."

The lack of God's peace a thing most miserable.

[Matt. v. 10.]

2 Tim. ii.

O that we would enter into the veil of God's promises! Then should we, with St Paul to the Philippians, reject all, and count all things but for dross, so that we may gain Christ. God, which is the lightener of all darkness, and putter away of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eye-salve, that we might behold his glory and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for us that do abide in his testament: for "blessed is that servant[1], that whom the master when he cometh (as Christ said) doth find faithful." Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any point of our religion to the antichristian synagogue, and that we be not overthrown of these temptations. Stand therefore, and be no cowards in the cause of your salvation;

[Phil. iii. 8.]

[Matt. xxiv. 46.]

[1 *Whom* the master, &c. Ed. 1684.]

for his Spirit that is in us is stronger than he which in the world doth now rage against us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by whose might we shall overcome our enemies; and then death shall be as great a gain to us, as it was to the blessed apostle St Paul. Why then do ye mourn? why do ye weep? why be ye so careful, as though God hath forsaken you? He is never more present with us than when we be in trouble, if we do not forsake him. We are in his hands, and nobody can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we stumble not at a stone without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his ministers, without the good will of our eternal Father. Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our estate, whatsoever it be; for if we murmur against the same, we murmur against God, who sendeth the same: which if we do, we kick but against the prick, and provoke more the wrath of God against us; which by patient suffering otherwise would sooner be turned into our favour through faithful prayer.

[1 John iv. 4.]

He exhorteth to be joyful in afflictions.

To be patient, and not to murmur in affliction.

I beseech you with St Paul, to give your bodies pure and holy sacrifices unto God. He hath given us bodies to bestow unto his glory, and not after our own concupiscence. If many years God hath suffered us to use our bodies, which be his temples, after the lust of the flesh, in vain delights, not according to his glory; is it not our duty in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yield unto God's glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonstration of true repentance of that we have evil spent before? Cannot the example of the blessed man Job, horribly afflicted, cause us to say, "The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it: blessed be the name of the Lord! Even as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it come to pass"? If we cast our whole care likewise upon God, he will turn our misery into felicity, as well as he did to Job. God tempteth us now, as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to slay his son Isaac in sacrifice to him, (which Isaac by interpretation doth signify *mirth* and *joy*;) who by his obedience preserved Isaac unto long life, and offered in his stead a ram that was tied by the

[Rom. xii. 1.]

How to sacrifice our Isaac to God.

horns in the brambles. Semblably we all are[1] commanded to sacrifice unto God our Isaac, which is our joy and consolation: the which if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our joy shall not perish, but live and be increased, although our ram be sacrificed for our Isaac: which doth signify that the pride and concupiscence of our flesh, entangled through sin with the cares of this stinging world, must be mortified for the preservation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is sealed up for us in Christ.

Remedies against the temptations of the devil and the world.

And to withstand these present temptations wherewithal we are now encumbered, ye cannot have a better remedy than to set before your eyes how our Saviour Christ overcame them in the desert, and to follow his ensample; that if the devil himself, or any other by him, willeth you to make stones bread (that is, to take such a worldly-wise way, that you may have your fair houses, lands and goods, to live on still), ye must say, that "man liveth not only by bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."

Christ's temptations mystically applied.

Again, if the devil counselleth you to cast yourselves down to the earth, so as to revoke your sincere belief and godly conversation, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content herewith; ye must answer that "it is written, that a man shall not tempt his Lord God."

Further, if the devil offer you large promises of honour, dignity, and possessions, so that ye will worship idols in his synagogue, ye must say, "Go behind me, Satan; for it is otherwise written, that a man must worship his Lord God, and serve him only."

Finally, if your mother, brother, sister, wife, child, kinsman or friend, do seek of you to do otherwise than the word of God hath taught you, ye must say with Christ, that they are your mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, children, and kinsmen[2], which do the will of God the Father. To the which will the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end! Amen.

[Matt. xii. 49, 50.]

Your loving and faithful brother in Christ, in captivity,

Anno 1555. JOHN PHILPOT.

[1 Are all, 1684.]

[2 Children, kinsmen, &c. Ed. 1684.]

LETTER XIV.

Here followeth another letter of MASTER PHILPOT *to the* LADY VANE: *which, because for the length, I could not wholly insert, I have excerpted certain specialities thereout as followeth:*

THE principal Spirit of God the Father, given unto us by Christ Jesus our merciful Saviour, confirm, strengthen, and stablish you in the true knowledge of the gospel, that your faithful heart, worshipful and dear sister in the Lord, may attain and taste with all the saints, what is the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of the sweet cross of Christ! Amen, &c.

Oh, happy are you amongst all other women, that have found this precious stone which is hidden in the gospel; for the which we ought to sell all other things, and to purchase the same. O happy woman, whose heart God hath moved and enlarged to be in the profession thereof! Other seek worldly goods, honours, and delights; but you seek with a good understanding to serve God in spirit and verity. This is the gate that leadeth to heaven; this is your portion for ever. By this you shall see God face to face (which sight is unspeakable joy), and by this shall ye see whatever your heart can desire: by this ye shall have a full sight of all the beautiful heavenly powers, and of all the celestial paradise. By this shall you know them that you never knew, and be joyous and glad with those which you have known here in God, world without end, &c.

He bewaileth the state of England. Plagues prophesied to England, though the gospel be restored again.

Ah! I lament the infidelity of England, that after so great light is stepped into so huge darkness again. "The servant that knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." Ah! great be the plagues that hang over England, yea, though the gospel should be restored again. Happy shall that person be whom the Lord shall take out of this world, not to see them. Ah! the great perjury which men have run into so wilfully against God, by receiving antichrist again and his wicked laws, which do threaten a great ruin unto England! O that the Lord would

turn his just judgments upon the authors of the truce-breaking between God and us, that they might be brought low (as Nabuchodonosor was), that his people might be delivered, and his glory exalted! God grant that that good luck which you hope shortly to come upon the house of God, be a true prophecy, and not a well-wishing only! Ah, Lord! take away thy heavy hand from us, and stretch it out upon thine enemies (those hypocrites), as thou hast begun, that they may be confounded. O let not the weak perish for want of knowledge through our sin. Although thou kill us, yet will we put our trust in thee.

Good luck foreshewed in restoring again the gospel.

Thus, dear heart, you teach me to pray with you in writing. God hear your prayers, and give us the spirit of effectual prayer, to pour out our hearts continually together before God, that we may find mercy both for ourselves, and for our afflicted brethren and sisters. I cannot but praise God in you, for that pitiful heart that taketh other folks' calamities to heart, as your own. "Blessed be they that mourn, for such shall be comforted." God wipe away all tears from your pitiful eyes, and sorrow from your merciful heart, that you may (as doubtless you shall do shortly) rejoice with his elect for ever. You have so armed me to the Lord's battle both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very coward, I cannot faint, but overcome by death. You have appointed me to so good and gracious a general of the field, to so victorious a captain, and to so favourable a marshal, that if I should not go on lustily, there were no spectacle of heavenly manhood in me. I will present your coat-armour before my captain, and in the same I trust by him to overcome. The scarf I desire as an outward sign to shew our enemies, who see not our glorious end, neither what God worketh inwardly in us, through the blindness of their hearts, that they persecute Christ's cross in us, whereby he hath sealed up the truth of his gospel by his death unto us, that we by our death (if need be) might confirm the same, and never be ashamed, whatsoever torment we do suffer for his name's sake; and our weak brethren, seeing the same, might be more encouraged to take up Christ's cross, and to follow him. God give us grace to do all things to his glory! Amen, &c.

Philpot's scarf.

The world wondereth how we can be merry in such ex-

treme misery; but our God is omnipotent, which turneth misery into felicity. Believe me, dear sister, there is no such joy in the world as the people of Christ have under the cross. I speak by experience; therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you: for when they imprison our bodies, they set our souls at liberty with God; when they cast us down, they lift us up; yea, when they kill us, then do they bring us to everlasting life. And what greater glory can there be, than to be at conformity with Christ? which afflictions do work in us.

Experience of God's comfort in the time of affliction.

Persecutors when they prison men's bodies, they set their souls at liberty.

God open our eyes to see more and more the glory of God in the cross of Jesus Christ, and make us worthy partakers of the same! Let us rejoice in nothing with St Paul, but "in the cross of Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto us, and we to the world." The cross of Christ be our standard to fight under for ever! While I am thus talking with you of our common consolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and unordinate tediousness: but you must impute it to love, which cannot quickly depart from them whom he loveth, but desireth to pour himself into their bosoms. Therefore, though your flesh would be offended (as it might justly be) at such rudeness, yet your spirit will say nay, which taketh all things in good part that come of love. And now I am departing, yet will I take my leave ere I go, and would fain speak somewhat that might declare my sincere love to you for ever: Farewell, O elect vessel of the Lord, to the comfort of his afflicted flock: farewell on earth, whom in heaven I am sure I shall not forget. Farewell under the cross most joyfully; and, until we meet, always remember what Christ saith, "Be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world," &c.

God pour his Spirit abundantly upon you, mine own dear bowels in Christ! until you may come to see the God of all gods with his elect in the everlasting Sion. I send to you the kiss of peace, with the which I do most entirely take my leave of you at this present. It is necessary we depart hence, or else we could not be glorified. Your heart is heavy, because I say I must depart from you. It is the calling of the merciful Father, wherewithal you are content, and so am I. Be of good comfort: hold out your buckler of faith; for

by the strength thereof we shall shortly meet in eternal glory: to the which Christ bring both us, Amen, Amen!—The 10th of December, 1555.

Death! why should I fear thee? since thou canst not hurt me, but rid me from misery unto eternal glory.

Dead to the world, and living to Christ, your own brother, sealed up in the verity of the gospel for ever.

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER XV.

Another Letter written to the same lady, being a great supporter of him.

I CANNOT but most heartily give God thanks for these his gifts in you, whose brightness many beholding, that are weak, are much encouraged to seek God likewise, and to cleave to him, having the ensample of so faithful and constant a gentlewoman before their eyes. If the queen of the south shall rise with the men of Christ's generation, and condemn them, for that she came from the end of the world to hear the wisdom of Solomon, then shall your sincere and godly conversation, thus shining in this dangerous time of the trial of Christ's people, (being a woman of right worshipful estate and wealthy condition,) condemn in the latter day a great many of these faint-hearted gospellers, which so soon be gone back and turned from the truth at the voice of a hand-maiden; seeing that neither the fear of imprisonment, neither the possession of the world (wherewithal you are sufficiently endued above a great many), can separate you from the love of the truth, which God hath revealed unto you: whereby it appeareth that the seed of God's word which was sown in you, fell neither in the highway, neither among the thorns, neither upon the stones, but upon a good ground, which is blessed of God, and bringeth forth fruit with great affliction, a hundred fold, to the glory of God and the increase of his church. In consideration whereof St James biddeth us highly to "rejoice, whensoever we fall into many temptations, knowing that

Against faint-hearted gospellers.

James i. 2, 3, 4.

it is but the trial of our faith," that we might bring forth that excellent virtue patience, by the which we are made like to our Redeemer Christ; with whom we here being in like suffering, assuredly shall hereafter be partakers of his eternal glory. Therefore St Paul saith, "God forbid that I should glory in any thing but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." I that am under the cross with you, (thanks be given to God therefore!) have felt in the same more true joy and consolation than ever I did by any benefit that God hath given me in my life before: for the more the world doth hate us, the nigher God is unto us, and there is no perfect joy but in God. Wherefore Christ said, "In me ye shall have joy, but in the world affliction." Blessed be God which sendeth us this affliction, that we might perfectly joy in him! For this cause, in the ripest time of iniquity, and in the most fervent season of persecution of the true church, which Christ in the twenty-first of Luke prophesied to come, he willeth us to be of good cheer, and to lift up our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

John xvi. 33.

Luke xxi. 28.

Perfect joy considered.

O that the Lord would come and deliver us from this world, which is a vale of misery, unto his own kingdom, where floweth perpetual joy and consolation! And verily that is the true and only joy, which is conceived, not of the creature, but of the Creator; the which when we do possess, no body can take it away from us; to the which joy, all other joys being compared, are but mournings, all delights sorrow, all sweetness sour, all beauty filth, and finally, all other things that be counted pleasant are tediousness. Your own self is better witness of this than I. Ask yourself, with whom you are best acquainted. Doth not the Holy Ghost speak the same in your heart? Have you not persuaded yourself this to be true, before I wrote thereof? For how should you, being a woman, and a young gentlewoman, beautiful, and at your own liberty, have overcome this your frail kind and age, and despised your excellent beauty and estate, unless all those things which be subject to the senses had been counted of you vile, and little to be esteemed in comparison of those things which inwardly do comfort you to overcome the flesh, the world, and the devil?

Comparison between the joy in God, and the joy in this world.

God increase your joy in all spiritual things, and stablish

God's saints shall be as judges against their adversaries.

your hope to the day of eternal rest! You have forsaken darkness, and are entered into light: God grant the same may shine still in you, until the perfect day come of the Lord, in the which is all our consolation! Here we must be darkened, that there we may appear as bright as the sun in the face of the whole world, and of all them that now condemn us for our well-doing; whose judges then we shall be, to their horrible grief, though now wrongfully they judge us. Pray heartily, and that often, that God once again for his Christ's sake would be merciful to his afflicted church in England. Faithful prayer is the only remedy that we have against the fiery darts of the devil, that be kindled against us. By prayer the Amalekites shall be overcome, and the roarings of the lion, which seeketh still to devour us, shall be stopped and put to silence. The Lord stop Leviathan's mouth, that he swallow not up God's seely[1] people, according to his expectation!

The gospel triumpheth by the death of martyrs.

Praise the Lord for the faithful testimony and sacrifice which two of our brethren of late have, through fire, rendered to the truth of the gospel, which now triumpheth by the death of godly martyrs. The Lord is at hand: therefore watch and pray.—The last of May, 1555. Captive in the king's bench.

Yours, with heart in Christ,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER XVI.

Another Letter to the godly LADY VANE.

GOD, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, increase in your godly heart the faith of the gospel, which is your eternal inheritance, and the Holy Ghost comfort your spirit with all spiritual consolation, to the day of the Lord! Amen.

I cannot but praise God most highly and earnestly, my dear and faithful lady, for the great and unfeigned love which

[1 Seely: silly, simple.]

you bear unto me in Christ, declared oftentimes, as well now as of late, by manifest and liberal tokens. Blessed be God that hath made you so worthy a member in his kingdom: for it cannot be but such shall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here doth sow so plenteously in well doing; albeit I am most unworthy to receive any such benefit at your hands, as in respect of a pillar of Christ's church, which am scarce a shadow thereof. But the zeal of Christ's church in you wisheth me to be such a one as the time doth require. God fulfil your desire of me, that I may be found constant, and no wandering star! I am not worthy of the name of a prophet, or of a minister of God's word, for that I have (being letted by the iniquity of the time) little or nothing laboured therein. I am a friend of our common spouse Jesus, and do rejoice of the verity of his word, for the which (praised be his name!) he hath counted me worthy to suffer; and indeed who that giveth "a draught of water in the name of a disciple," as Christ promised, "shall lose his reward?" Therefore what your gentleness doth in the name of him, the Lord recompense unto you in all his blessings which he is accustomed to pour on them which love his flock unfeignedly!

Lady Vane a liberal benefactor to God's saints.

Mark ix. 41.

Good lady, you have to joy that the kingdom of God is thus continually before your eyes, and that you are not ashamed of the bands of Christ, which you with his people in part do suffer. They may be assured of the glory everlasting, which here are not ashamed to take up the cross of Christ, and to follow him. Here we must weep and lament, while the world laugheth and triumpheth over us; but our tears shall shortly be turned into unspeakable joy, and we shall eternally be merry together, when the world shall lament their infidelity without end.

I would I were able to do any thing that might shew condign thanks for that sincere love you bear unto me in Christ: you adjure me (as it were) by your gentle letters to be bold on you in all my needs. I thank God which ceaseth not to provide for his, I lack nothing at this present, but only ability to thank your faithful heart for your goodness towards me. I love you and not yours, as it is meet Christians to love one another in God; and your faith which I behold in you, is more worth unto me than all your possessions. And I think I

shall not need long to be chargeable unto you, for that this week I look for commissioners to sit on me and my fellow-prisoners in prison, lest the spirit of our breath might blow further abroad. The will of God be done! We are not so good as John the Baptist, which was beheaded in prison. Darkness cannot abide the light: therefore their doings must declare what they are. We are as sheep appointed for a sacrifice to the Lord. We must not fear the fire, for our Lord is a consuming fire, which will put out the fierceness of raging torments from us. "Be not afraid of them that can kill the body, but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell fire." God forbid that we should rejoice otherwise than in the cross of Christ; and pray that he would make us worthy to suffer for his sake. God will have our faith tried and known; and therefore let us willingly "humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, that he may gloriously lift us up in his good time." There is none perfectly faithful indeed till he can say with St Paul, "I am persuaded that neither death, neither life, neither angels, neither princes, nor powers, neither things present, neither things to come, neither highness, neither lowness, neither any other creature, is able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." This faith God plant both in you and in me unmovably! In this faith we have to rejoice, and in none other.

A perfect christian man, how he is known. Rom. viii. 38, 39.

All the tribulations of the world are not worthy of the eternal weight of glory which is prepared for them that here do with patience abide the cross. Wherefore let us be strong with the strength of him[1] that is able to make us strong, and lament the weakness, I might say the infidelity, of our faint gospellers. Christ, whom we would pretend to have put upon us, is the strength of God; and how then may they be weak where Christ is? We have more to be glad, touching ourselves, of this time, than we have had of any time before, in the which we have so ready a way to go unto God, and so good occasion to shew our duty in glorifying his holy name. For if we be imprisoned in this cause, we are blessed: if we lose all that we have, we are blessed a hundred fold: if we die, we are blessed eternally; so that in suffering of persecutions, all is full of blessings. Be blessed therefore, O elect lady, of God, with the

The time of tribulation better for a Christian than the time of joy.

[1] Strength *in* him, Editions 1597 and 1684.]

blessed of God, and flee (as you do) the concupiscence of the world. Embrace that which is perfect, and joyfully look for the coming and cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. Thus desiring God to preserve you to his true peace, and to give you victory of that temptation which now is come to try our faith, Christ be with you, and bless you both in body and soul; and my prayer shall follow you wheresoever you go, as I desire that yours may be with me. The last week I sent your beneficence to Oxford: I could not before have a convenient messenger. As soon as I have word, you shall be satisfied of your request. Love me as you do, and the God of love be with you! The 20th day of August.

By yours, with all his power, in the Lord,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER XVII.

Another Letter full of spiritual consolation to the said lady.

THE mercy of God the Father, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost, through Jesus Christ, be with you, and strengthen you, my dear mother and sister in the Lord, in these dangerous days, to the crown of eternal glory, which is now offered to all faithful soldiers in the gospel, Amen!

As your good ladyship doth desire to hear from me, so I am desirous to write, as your gentleness and daily goodness bindeth me. But Satan of late hath letted me, who envying all good exercises which I have had and received by mine easy imprisonment in times past, hath brought me out of the king's bench into the bishop of London's coal-house, a dark and an ugly prison as any is about London; (but my dark body of sin hath well deserved the same, and the Lord now hath brought me into outward darkness, that I might the more be lightened by him, as he is most present with his children in the midst of darkness;) where I cannot be suffered to have any candle-light, neither ink nor paper, but by stealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my duty is. As Christ my Master was sent from Annas to Caiaphas, so am I sent from

Winchester diocese to London, I trust, to make a speedy end of my course: God give me grace and patience to be a faithful follower of my Master! I have been already this seven-night in his coal-house, and have of late been four times called to mine answer, but hitherto not called to judgment, which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, and try me by strait imprisonment awhile, in the which God's will be done.

Experience of Christ, comforting his saints in their persecution.

Pray, dear lady, that my faith faint not, which I praise God is presently more lively with me than it hath been in times past. I taste and feel the faithfulness of God in his promise, who hath promised to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord, I am not alone, but have six other faithful companions; who in our darkness do cheerfully sing hymns and praises unto God for his great goodness. We are so joyful, that I wish you part of my joy; for you that are so careful of my bodily relief, how can I but wish your spiritual consolation, and that abundantly? Let not, dear heart, my strait imprisonment any thing molest you; for it hath added, and daily doth, unto my joy: but rather be glad and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleased him to make me, most wretched sinner, worthy to suffer any thing for his sake. "Hitherto we have not resisted unto blood." God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes than his truth!

Ah, my dear sister! I thank you again for the last letter you sent me; it is a singular comfort unto me, as oft as I read the same. I have it in my bosom, and will carry the same even to the stake with me, in witness that Christ hath so constant and faithful a lady in England. God succour and keep that spirit in you; for it is the very spirit of adoption of the child of God. Such cheerful and holy spirits under the cross be acceptable sacrifices in the sight of God; for Christ came to cast fire into the earth, and looketh that it should be kindled. Be you fervent in spirit in our Christ's cause, as you have begun; for that is the principal spirit wherewithal David desired to be confirmed. Oh, how do I rejoice, your ladyship to go arm in arm with me unto Christ, or rather before me! I cannot but joy of such a worshipful fellow. Methinketh I see you to mourn, and desire to be loosed out of the earthly and

[Luke xii. 49.]

frail habitacle[1] of this body. Oh, how amiable and pleasant is it to dwell in the Lord's tabernacle! Our Christ and his heavenly company look for us: let us haste and run thereto; for behold the Lord is ready to embrace us. Mine own bowels in the Lord! be merry in the Lord with your afflicted brother, who daily offereth your merciful alms, which most unworthily I do receive still of you, unto the Lord. But now, dear mother, you need not to burden so much yourself (as my last letters did signify), for that my chargeable imprisonment is cut off, and a little now serveth me: wherefore I pray you send no more until I send to you, for I have sufficient and abound. God's peace be with you for ever!

Out of my lord of London's coal-house, the last of October.

Your own,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER XVIII.

Another Letter to the said lady, wherein partly he complaineth of the dissimulation and perjury of Englishmen, falling again to the pope, and partly he expresseth his joy in his afflictions.

I CANNOT but joy with you, my heartily beloved in Christ, of the fall of Sennacherib: since it is to the glory of God, and to the consolation of his church, to see the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written, "The just shall rejoice, when he seeth the vengeance of the wicked." [Ps. lviii. 10.] God make this your joy perfect; for as concerning myself, I count not to see those good days, whereof you have a glimmering, in this life. For although the cockatrice be dead, yet his pestilent chickens, with the whore of Babylon, still live. But a great hope there is of their short confusion, because God doth not prosper their doings according to their expectation. Most happiest[2] shall he be, whom the Lord shall most soonest[3] take out of this life, that he may not see the

By this Sennacherib, he meaneth the death of the bishop of Winchester.

[1] Habitacle—*Lat.* habitaculum: dwelling-place.]

[2] Most happy. Ed. 1684.]

[3] Soonest. 1684.]

plagues which the manifest perjury and the manifold idolatry and detestable dissimulation (and that of such as do know the truth) do threaten to come.

The Lord is just, and all unrighteousness displeaseth him, and either here, or else in another world, he will punish this gross infidelity of the world: but his elect, and such as he loveth, will he punish here, that they should not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally. We have nothing so much to rejoice in, as in the cross of Jesus Christ, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which be the earnest-penny of that eternal kingdom, which he upon the cross for us hath purchased. For as Paul his faithful witness saith, "If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him: if we die with him, we shall live with him."

Wherefore, mine own dear bowels! praise God with me most entirely, that it hath pleased him now mercifully to visit the sins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulness, and by the same doth give me much consolation, that he assureth me of his great goodness and mercy, and turneth his fatherly castigation into my crown of glory. O good God! what am I, on whom he should shew this great mercy? To him that is immortal, invisible, and only wise, be all honour, praise, and glory therefore, Amen.

He expresseth the great joy which God's prisoners feel in their sufferings.

"This is the day that the Lord hath made; let us rejoice and be glad in the same." This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliss. Oh, how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am so near the apprehension thereof! God forgive me mine unthankfulness and unworthiness of so great glory. The swords which pierced Mary's heart in the passion of our Saviour, which daily also go through your faithful heart, be more glorious and to be desired than the golden sceptres of this world. Oh, blessed be they that mourn in this world to God-ward; for they shall eternally be comforted. God make my stony heart to mourn more than it doth! I have so much joy of the reward that is prepared for me, most wretched sinner, that though I be in a place of darkness and mourning, yet I cannot lament; but both night and day am so joyful, as though I were under no cross at all: yea, in all the days of my life I was never so merry; the name of the Lord be praised therefore for ever

Philpot never so merry in all his life before.

and ever, and he pardon mine unthankfulness! Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnash their teeth to see and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be so merry. We are of them counted as desperate persons, for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our everlasting salvation. And it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God; it is mere foolishness and abomination to them.

Be thankful unto God, mine own dear helper, for his wondrous working in his chosen people. Pray instantly that this joy be never taken from us; for it passeth all the delights of this world. This is "the peace of God which surmounteth all understanding:" this peace, the more his chosen be afflicted, the more they feel; and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, neither for water. Let us pray for our weak brethren and sisters' sake, that it may please God to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burden of these cruel days. But touching ourselves, let us heartily beseech our Saviour to vouchsafe to give us this glorious gift, to suffer for his gospel's sake, and that we may think the shame of the world to be our glory, as it is indeed. God increase our faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us! I lack nothing, praise be to God! I trust my marriage-garment is ready. I will send you my examinations, as soon as I can get them written, if you be desirous of them.

God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and consolation of the hope to come!

Out of the coal-house, the 19th of November.

Your own lover,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER XIX.

A Letter to a friend of his, prisoner the same time in Newgate; wherein is debated and discussed the matter or question of infants to be baptized.

A letter of M. Philpot, stablishing a certain brother in the matter of baptizing of infants.

The God of all light and understanding lighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect

to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his holy Spirit! Amen.

I received yesternight from you, dear brother, saint, and fellow-prisoner for the truth of Christ's gospel, a letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the baptism of infants; what is the effect thereof. And before I do shew you what I have learned out of God's word, and of his true and infallible church touching the same, I think it not out of the matter first to declare what vision I had the same night, while musing on your letter I fell asleep, knowing that God doth not without cause reveal to his people, who have their minds fixed on him, special and spiritual revelations to their comfort, as a taste of their joy and kingdom to come, which flesh and blood cannot comprehend.

A vision revealed to Philpot upon a letter to be answered.

Being in the midst of my sweet rest, it seemed me to see a great beautiful city, all of the colour of azure and white, four-square, in a marvellous beautiful composition in the midst of the sky; the sight whereof so inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to express the consolation I had thereof; yea, the remembrance thereof causeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no churl, but would others to be partakers of his delight, so methought I called to others (I cannot tell whom); and while they came, and we together beheld the same, by and by, to my great grief, it faded away.

The vision expounded.

This dream I think not to have come of the illusion of the senses, because it brought with it so much spiritual joy; and I take it to be of the working of God's Spirit for the contentation of your request, as he wrought in Peter to satisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautiful city to be the glorious church of Christ, and the appearance of it in the sky signifieth the heavenly state thereof, whose conversation is in heaven; and that, according to the primitive church which is now in heaven, men ought to measure and judge the church of Christ now in earth; for as the prophet David saith, "The foundations thereof be in the holy hills, and glorious things be spoken of the city of God." And the marvellous quadrature of the same, I take to signify the universal agreement in the same, and that all the church here militant ought to consent to the primitive church throughout the four

The primitive example for us to follow.

[Ps. lxxxvii. 1—3.]

parts of the world; as the prophet affirmeth, saying, "God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one house." And that I conceived so wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I understand the unspeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Christ's primitive church: for there is joy in the Holy Ghost, and peace which passeth all understanding, as it is written in the Psalms: "As of joyful persons, is the dwelling of all them that be in thee." And that I called others to the fruition of this vision and to behold this wonderful city, I construe it by the will of God this vision to have come upon me musing on your letter, to the end that under this figure I might have occasion to move you with many others, to behold the primitive church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform yourself in all points to the same, which is the "pillar and stablishment of truth," and teacheth the true use of the sacraments; and having, with a greater fulness than we have now, the first-fruits of the Holy Ghost, did declare the true interpretation of the scriptures according to all verity, even as our Saviour promised to send them another Comforter, which should teach them all truth.

[Ps. lxviii. 6.]

[Ps. v. 11.]

And since all truth was taught and revealed to the primitive church, which is our mother, let us all that be obedient children of God, submit ourselves to the judgment of the church for the better understanding of the articles of our faith and of the doubtful sentences of the scripture. Let us not go about to shew in us, by following any private man's interpretation upon the word, another spirit than they of the primitive church had, lest we deceive ourselves: for there is but one faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himself, neither otherwise now teacheth us than he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true catholic church is at this day: and the God of peace assuredly will be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miseries, and make us partakers of their joy and bliss through our obedience to faith with them.

Therefore God commandeth us in Job to ask of the elder generation, and to search diligently the memory of the fathers: for we are but yesterday's children, and be ignorant, and our

[Job viii. 8, 9, 10.]

days are like a shadow, "and they shall teach thee," saith the Lord, "and speak to thee, and shall utter words from their hearts." And by Solomon we are commanded, not to reject the direction of our mother. The Lord grant you to direct your steps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her; for as St Paul writeth, "If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the church of God, hath any such custom."

[Prov. vi. 20.]

Hitherto I have shewed you, good brother S., my judgment generally of that you stand in doubt and dissent from others, to the which I wish you as mine own heart to be conformable; and then doubtless you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you shall die in the church of God a faithful martyr, and receive the crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occasion of a vision before God unfeigned. But that you may not think that I go about to satisfy you with uncertain visions only, and not after God's word, I will take the ground of your letter, and specially answer to the same by the scriptures, and by infallible reasons deduced out of the same, and prove the baptism of infants to be lawful, commendable, and necessary, whereof you seem to stand in doubt.

Proof by testimonies and scriptures.

Indeed, if you look upon the papistical synagogue only, which had corrupted God's word by false interpretations, and hath perverted the true use of Christ's sacraments, you might seem to have good handfast of your opinion against the baptism of infants. But forasmuch as it is of more antiquity, and hath its beginning from God's word and from the use of the primitive church, it must not in respect of the abuse in the popish church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be used in Christ's church. Auxentius, one of the Arians' sect[1], with his adherents, was one of the first that denied the baptism of children; and next after him Pelagius the heretic; and some others there were in St Bernard's time, as it doth appear by his writings; and in our days the anabaptists, an inordinate kind of men stirred up by the devil, to the destruction of the gospel. But the catholic truth de-

Baptism of infants of old antiquity in the church. Every thing abused in the pope's church is not to be rejected, but the antiquity thereof to be searched and to be reduced again to the same.

[1 Auxentius was bishop of Milan: he died in the year 374, and was succeeded by Ambrose.]

livered unto us by the scriptures plainly determineth, that all such are to be baptized, as whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy of sanctification or remission of their sins. Therefore, since that infants be in the number or scroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promise by their purification in Christ, it must needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as those that can profess their faith: for we judge the people of God as well by the free and liberal promise of God, as by the confession of faith. For to whomsoever God promiseth himself to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, those no man without great impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promiseth that he will not only be the God of such as do profess him, but also of infants, promising them his grace and remission of sins, as it appeareth by the words of the covenant made unto Abraham: "I will set my covenant between thee and me (saith the Lord), and between thy seed after thee in their generations, with an everlasting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee." To the which covenant circumcision was added, to be a sign of sanctification as well in children as in men; and no man may think that this promise is abrogated with circumcision and other ceremonial laws: for Christ came to fulfil the promises, and not to dissolve them. Therefore in the gospel he saith of infants (that is, of such as yet believed not), "Let thy little ones come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Again, "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that any of these little ones do perish." Also, "He that receiveth one such little child in my name, receiveth me." "Take heed therefore that ye despise not one of these babes; for I tell you, their angels do continually see in heaven my Father's face." And what may be said more plainer than this? It is not the will of the heavenly Father, that the infants should perish: whereby we may gather that he receiveth them freely unto this grace, although as yet they confess not their faith. Since then that the word of the promise, which is contained in baptism, pertaineth as well to children as to men, why should the sign of the promise, which is baptism in water, be withdrawn from children, when

Gen. xvii.

Matt. v.

Mark x.

Matt. xviii.

Matt. xviii.

Matt. xviii.

Christ himself commandeth them to be received of us, and promiseth the reward of a prophet to those that receive such a little infant, as he for an example did put before his disciples?

Arguments proving the baptism of children to be of God, and that the apostles baptized children. Matt. xxviii.

Now will I prove with manifest arguments that children ought to be baptized, and that the apostles of Christ did baptize children. The Lord commanded his apostles to baptize all nations: therefore also children ought to be baptized; for they are comprehended under this word, "all nations."

Acts x.

Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful; for it was said to Peter, "That thing which God hath purified, thou shalt not say to be common or unclean."

Another argument.

But God doth repute children among the faithful: ergo, they be faithful—except we had rather to resist God, and seem stronger and wiser than he. And without all doubt the apostles

1 Cor. i.

baptized those which Christ commanded: but he commanded the faithful to be baptized, among the which infants be reckoned: the apostles then baptized infants.

Another argument. 1 Cor. i.

The gospel is more than baptism; for Paul said, "The Lord sent me to preach the gospel, and not to baptize:" not that he denied absolutely that he was sent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptism; for the Lord commanded both to the apostles. But children be received by the doctrine of the gospel of God, and not refused: therefore what person being of reason may deny them baptism,

In sacraments two things to be considered.

which is a thing lesser than the gospel? For in the sacraments be two things to be considered, the thing signified, and the sign; and the thing signified is greater than the sign; and from the thing signified in baptism children are not excluded. Who therefore may deny them the sign, which is baptism in water? St Peter could not deny them to be baptized in water, to whom he saw the Holy Ghost given, which is the certain sign of God's people: for he saith in

Another reason. Acts x.

the Acts, "May any body forbid them to be baptized in water, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" Therefore St Peter denied not baptism to infants; for he knew certainly, both by the doctrine of Christ, and by the covenant which is everlasting, that the kingdom of heaven pertained to infants.

None be received into the kingdom of heaven, but such as God loveth, and which are endued with his Spirit: for

"whoso hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of his." But infants be beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as men, if they be numbered among the people of God as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withstand children to be baptized with water in the name of the Lord? Another reason.

The apostles in times past, being yet not sufficiently instructed, did murmur against those which brought their children unto the Lord; but the Lord rebuked them, and said, "Let the babes come unto me." Why then do not these rebellious anabaptists obey the commandment of the Lord? For what do they now-a-days else, that bring their children to baptism, than that they did in times past, which brought their children to the Lord? and our Lord received them, and putting his hands on them, blessed them, and both by words and by gentle behaviour towards them declared manifestly, that children be the people of God, and entirely beloved of God. But some will say, "Why then did not Christ baptize them?" Because it is written, "Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples." Another reason. Mark x. Objection. John iv.

Moreover, circumcision in the old law was ministered to infants: therefore baptism ought to be ministered in the new law unto children. For baptism is come in the stead of circumcision, as St Paul witnesseth, saying to the Colossians, "By Christ ye are circumcised with a circumcision which is without hands, when ye put off the body of sin of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ; being buried together with him through baptism." Behold, Paul calleth baptism the circumcision of a christian man, which is done without hands; not that water may be ministered without hands, but that with hands no man any longer ought to be circumcised; albeit the mystery of circumcision do still remain in faithful people. To this I may add, that the servants of God were always ready to minister the sacraments to them for whom they were instituted: as for an example we may behold Joshua, who most diligently procured the people of Israel to be circumcised before they entered into the land of promise. But since the apostles were the preachers of the word, and the very faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who may hereafter Another reason. Col. ii. Another reason. Josh. v.

doubt that they baptized infants, since baptism is in place of circumcision? Item, the apostles did attemperate all their doings to the shadows and figures of the old testament: therefore it is certain that they did attemperate baptism according to circumcision, and baptized children; because they were under the figure of baptism: for the people of Israel passed through the Red Sea, and the bottom of the water of Jordan, with their children. And although the children be not always expressed, neither the women in the holy scriptures, yet they are comprehended and understood in the same. Also the scripture evidently telleth us, that the apostles baptized whole families or households: but the children are comprehended in a family or household, as the chiefest and dearest part thereof: therefore we may conclude, that the apostles did baptize infants or children, and not only men of lawful age. And that the house or household is taken for man, woman, and child, it is manifest in the seventeenth of Genesis, and also in that Joseph doth call Jacob with all his house to come out of the land of Canaan into Egypt.

Another reason.

* 1 Cor. x.

Another reason.

[Gen. xlv. 11.]

Arguments of example and of antiquity.

Finally, I can declare out of ancient writers, that the baptism of infants hath continued from the apostles' time unto ours; neither that it was instituted by any councils, neither of the pope, nor of other men, but commanded from the scripture by the apostles themselves. Origen[1], upon the declaration of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, expounding the sixth chapter, saith, "that the church of Christ received the baptism of infants from the very apostles." St Jerome[2]

[1 Mihi verò ne illud quidem otiose præmisisse in hoc capitulo videtur Apostolus, quod dicit, 'An nescitis?' Per quod ostendit quia tunc, hoc est, Apostolorum temporibus, non, ut nunc fieri videmus, typus tantummodo mysteriorum his qui baptizabantur, sed virtus eorum ac ratio tradebatur, et tanquam scientibus et edoctis quia qui baptizantur in morte Christi baptizantur, et consepeliuntur ei per baptismum in mortem. Orig. Op. Par. 1759. in Epist. ad Romanos. Lib. v. tom. iv. p. 562.]

[2 Critob. 'Dic, quæso, et me omni libera quæstione, quare infantuli baptizentur.' Attic. 'Ut eis peccata in baptismate dimittantur.' Hieron. Op. Par. 1706. tom. iv. col. 545. Lib. iii. Dialog. adv. Pelagianos.

Nisi forte æstimas Christianorum filios, si baptisma non acceperint, ipsos tantum reos esse peccati, et non etiam scelus referri ad eos qui dare noluerint: maxime eo tempore, quo contradicere non poterant qui ac-

maketh mention of the baptism of infants, in the third book against the Pelagians, and in his epistle to Leta. St Augustine reciteth for this purpose a place out of John, bishop of Constantinople[3], in his first book against Julian, chap. ii.; and he again, writing to St Jerome[4], saith, "that St Cyprian, not making any new decree, but firmly observing the faith of the church, judged with his fellow-bishops, that as soon as one was born[5], he might be lawfully baptized." The place of Cyprian[6] is to be seen in his epistle to Fidus. Also St Augustine. Cyprian.

cepturi erant: sicut e regione salus infantium majorum lucrum est. Hieron. Op. Epist. lvii. ad Lætam, tom. iv. col. 593.]

[3 Sed quid mussites, novi. Dic jam, dic, audiamus. In extremo tui operis de quo nunc agimus, id est, in quarti libri parte novissima, 'Sanctus Johannes,' inquis, 'Constantinopolitanus negat esse in parvulis originale peccatum. In ea quippe homilia, quam de baptizatis habuit: Benedictus (inquit) Deus, qui fecit mirabilia solus, qui fecit universa, et convertit universa. Ecce libertatis serenitate perfruuntur qui tenebantur paulo ante captivi; et cives ecclesiæ sunt qui fuerunt in peregrinationis errore; et justitiæ in sorte versantur qui fuerunt in confusione peccati. Non enim tantum sunt liberi, sed et sancti: non tantum sancti, sed et justi: non solum justi, sed et filii: non solum filii, sed et hæredes: non solum hæredes, sed et fratres Christi: nec tantum fratres Christi, sed et cohæredes: non solum cohæredes, sed et membra: non tantum membra, sed et templum: non tantum templum, sed et organa Spiritus. Vides quot sunt baptismatis largitates: et nonnulli deputant cœlestem gratiam in peccatorum tantum remissione consistere; nos autem honores computavimus decem. Hac de causa etiam infantes baptizamus, cum non sint coinquinati peccato, ut eis addatur sanctitas, justitia, adoptio, hæreditas, fraternitas Christi, ut ejus membra sint.' August. Op. Par. 1696. tom. x. col. 509. contr. Julian. Pelagian. Lib. i. cap. 6. § 21.]

[4 Beatus quidem Cyprianus, non aliquod decretum condens novum, sed ecclesiæ fidem firmissimam servans, ad corrigendum eos, qui putabant ante octavum diem nativitatis non esse parvulum baptizandum, non carnem, sed animam, dixit 'non esse perdendam;' et mox natum rite baptizari posse, cum suis quibusdam coepiscopis censuit. August. Op. Lib. ad. Hieron. seu Epist. clxvii. tom. x. col. 593. § 23.]

[5 Fidus applied to Cyprian to be informed whether, under any circumstances, he might baptize a child before the eighth day, since he had never known children, though in danger, being circumcised before the eighth day. The reply was, that an infant might be baptized at any moment after its birth, if there was a necessity arising from apprehended danger.]

[6 Et idcirco, frater carissime, hæc fuit in concilio nostra sententia, a baptismo atque a gratia Dei, qui omnibus misericors et benignus et pius est, neminem per nos debere prohiberi. Quod cum circa universos

Augustine, in writing against the Donatists[1], saith, that the baptism of infants was not derived from the authority of man, neither of councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the apostles. Cyril, upon Leviticus[2], approveth the baptism of children, and condemneth the iteration of baptism.

Cyril.

These authorities of men I do allege, not to tie the baptism of children unto the testimonies of men, but to shew how men's testimonies do agree with God's word, and that the verity of antiquity is on our side, and that the Anabaptists have nothing but lies for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptism of children to be the pope's commandment.

After this will I answer to the sum of your arguments for the contrary. The first, which includeth all the rest, is, It is written, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned," &c.

To this I answer, that nothing is added to God's word by the baptism of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the same word doth require; for that children are accounted of Christ in the gospel among the number of such as believe, as it appeareth by these words, "He that offendeth one of these little babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a millstone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea." Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess their faith, believers,

[Matt. xviii. 6.]

observandum sit atque retinendum, tum magis circa infantes ipsos et recens natos observandum putamus, qui hoc ipso de ope nostra ac de divina misericordia plus merentur, quod in primo statim nativitatis suæ ortu plorantes ac flentes nihil aliud faciunt quam deprecantur. Cypr. Op. Par. 1726. Epist. LIX. ad Fidum. p. 99.]

[1 Et si quisquam in hac re auctoritatem divinam quærat, quanquam 'Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate apostolica traditum rectissime creditur;' tamen veraciter conjicere possumus, quid valeat in parvulis baptismi sacramentum, ex circumcisione carnis, quam prior populus accepit, quam prius quam acciperet, justificatus est Abraham. August. de Baptism. cont. Donat. Lib. IV. cap. XXIV. col. 140. § 31.]

[2 Non quo per hæc iterandam baptismi gratiam sentiamus: sed quod omnis purificatio peccatorum, etiam hæc quæ per pœnitentiam quæritur, illius ope indiget, de cujus latere aqua processit et sanguis. Cyril. Op. Par. 1605. In Levit. Lib. VIII. tom. I. col. 83.]

because of his mere grace he reputeth them for believers. And this is no wonder so to be taken, since God imputeth faith for righteousness unto men that be of riper age: for both in men and children, righteousness, acceptation, sanctification, is of mere grace and by imputation, that the glory of God's grace might be praised. And that the children of faithful parents are sanctified, and among such as do believe, is apparent in 1 Cor. vii.

Righteousness and acceptation is only by imputation and mere grace.

And whereas you do gather by the order of the words in the said commandment of Christ, that children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you allege many places out of the Acts proving that such as confessed their faith first, were baptized after: I answer, that if the order of words might weigh any thing in this cause, we have the scripture that maketh as well for us; for in St Mark we read, that John did baptize in the desert, preaching the baptism of repentance. In the which place we see baptizing go before, and preaching to follow[3]. And also I will declare this place of Matthew, exactly considered, to make for the use of baptism in children; for St Matthew hath it written in this wise: "All power is given me," saith the Lord, "in heaven and in earth; therefore, going forth, μαθητεύσατε," that is, "disciple ye" (as I may express the signification of the word), that is, make or gather to me disciples of all nations. And following, he declareth the way how they should gather to him disciples out of all nations, "baptizing them and teaching:" by baptizing and teaching ye shall procure a church to me. And both these, aptly and briefly, severally he setteth forth, saying, "baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Now then, baptism goeth before doctrine.

Mark i.

Matt. xxviii.

But hereby I do not gather that the gentiles, which never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost, ought to be baptized, neither they would permit themselves to be baptized before they knew to what end; but this I have declared to shew you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptists be grounded. And plainly it is not true

"He that believeth and is baptized' opened.

[3 Follow after, Ed. 1684.]

which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did only command such to be baptized whom the apostles had first of all taught; neither here verily is signified who only be to be baptized: but he speaketh of such as be at perfect age, and of the first foundations of faith, and of the church to be planted among the gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion. Such as be of age may hear, believe, and confess that is[1] preached and taught, but so cannot infants: therefore we may justly collect, that he speaketh here nothing of infants or children. But for all this they be not to be[2] excluded from baptism. It is a general rule, "He that doth not labour must not eat;" but who is so barbarous, that might think hereby that children should be famished?

[2 Thess. iii. 10.]

The Lord sent his apostles, at the beginning of his setting up of his true religion, unto all nations—unto such as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the covenant of God: and truly such persons it behoved not first to be baptized, and afterward taught; but first to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we should go to the Turks, to convert them to the faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterward baptize such as would yield to be the servants of Christ. Likewise the Lord himself in times[3] past did, when first he renewed the covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumcision to be a seal of the covenant after that Abraham was circumcised. But he, when he perceived the infants also to pertain to the covenant, and that circumcision was the sealing up of the covenant, did not only circumcise Ishmael his son, that was thirteen years of age, but all other infants that were born in his house, among whom we reckon Isaac.

[Gen. xvii. 25—27.]

Why children of christian parents be received to baptism.

Even so faithful people which were converted from heathen idolatry by the preaching of the gospel, and confessing the faith, were baptized; when they understood their children to be counted among the people of God, and that baptism was the token of the people of God, they procured also their children to be baptized. Therefore, as it is written, "Abraham circumcised all the male children of his house;" sem-

[1] That which is preached, 1684.]
[2] Ought not to be, 1684.]
[3] Time past, 1684.]

blably we read in the Acts and writings of the Apostles, that after the master of the house was turned to the faith, all the whole house was baptized. [Acts xvi. 33.] And as concerning those which of old time were compelled to confess their faith before they received baptism, which were called *catechumeni*, they were such as with our forefathers came from the gentiles to[4] the church, whom being yet rude of faith they did instruct in the principles of their belief, and afterward they did baptize them: but the same ancient fathers, notwithstanding, did baptize the children of faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

And because you do require a hasty answer of your letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to cease particularly to go through your letter in answering thereto, knowing that I have fully answered every part thereof in that I have already written, although not in such order as it had been meet, and as I purposed. But forasmuch as I understand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, neither in any other, contrary to the judgment of Christ's true[5] primitive church, which is the body and fulness of Christ; I desire you in the entire love of him, or rather Christ desireth you by me (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called), to submit your judgment to that church, and to be at peace and unity in the same; that the coat of Christ, which ought to be without seam, but now, alas! most miserably is torn in pieces by many dangerous sects and damnable opinions, may appear by you in no part to have been rent, neither that any giddy head in these dog-days might take an ensample by you to dissent from Christ's true church. I beseech thee, dear brother in the gospel, follow the steps of the faith of the glorious martyrs in the primitive church, and of such as at this day follow the same: decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then shall death, be it never so bitter, be more sweet than this life; then shall Christ with all the heavenly Jerusalem triumphantly embrace your spirit with unspeakable gladness and exaltation, who in this earth was content to join your spirit with their spirits, according as it is commanded by the

[4 *Into* the church, 1684.]
[5 Christ's primitive church, 1684.]

1 Cor. xiv. word, that the spirit of the prophets should be subject to
[Ps. xxvii. 4.] the prophets. One thing ask with David ere you depart, and require the same, that you may dwell with a full accord in his house, for there is glory and worship; and so, with Simeon in the temple embracing Christ, depart in peace. To the which peace Christ bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of faith, by such ways as shall please him, to his glory! Let the bitter passion of Christ, which he suffered for your sake, and the horrible torments which the godly martyrs of Christ have endured before us, and also the inestimable reward of your life to
[Col. iii. 3.] come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in! Amen.

Your yoke-fellow in captivity for the verity of Christ's gospel, to live and die with you in the unity of faith,

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER XX. (C.)

A Letter of Mr PHILPOT, *written to certain of his faithful friends as his last farewell, a little before he suffered.*

THE knowledge of God, which hath enlightened you with true understanding of the gospel of Christ, be remaining with you still to the end, and be augmented in your hearts and doings through the operation of the holy Spirit to the glory of God and your eternal salvation! Amen.

A man that is passing into far countries, before his departing, committeth such goods as God hath endued him withal to his dearest friends, to the end they might be the better by them, if he return not again. Even so, dearly beloved and right worshipful, my good friends, I having shortly to pass unto my heavenly inheritance which is hidden with Christ, and to our common country and eternal dwelling-place which we shall have with God, never to return before the

latter day, in the which our souls shall come to judgment, and receive their bodies to be glorified according to their doings, have thought it my duty to communicate unto you something (with whom I have found great humanity) of the few heavenly treasures with the which God among others hath endued me in Christ, whereby he hath made me his child, and assuredly the inheritor of the kingdom of heaven, with all those that unfeignedly love him, and constantly cleave to his holy gospel: and that is, by the renovation of his image, whereunto man was first created like unto God, which is to be in the favour of God, to know God truly, to live justly; to delight fervently in the contemplation of God, to be continually happy, to be immortal, void of all corruption and sin; the which blessed image through sin is deformed in us, and in manner lost, saving that it hath pleased God of his mercy (who willeth not the death of a sinner) to restore that image by grace, through knowledge and belief of the gospel, which otherwise in our nature is clean suppressed and extinguished.

Therefore we, knowing the great and lamentable loss which we do sustain in Adam, ought most earnestly to seek the recovery thereof, that we might eternally live like unto God in immortality and felicity; the which we shall never recover, unless we go about to mortify our outward man all the days of our life more and more, and be renewed in spirit according to the true knowledge of God; the which if we be, then may we be assured that we have found that joy, felicity, and eternal life which Adam had in paradise, yea, and more than that ten thousand fold, for that it is such as "the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, neither the heart can conceive which Christ hath prepared for us." This image of God whosoever by faith doth find, he hath found the most precious treasure that any man can find; for he is even here a citizen of heaven, and in possession of eternal life. Therefore I commit unto you principally a daily care of the renovation of this image, as the chiefest jewel you can desire in this world. And hereof now I am the more moved to put you in remembrance, because I love you entirely in the Lord, and desire your fellowship, which the iniquity of

our time will not permit me to enjoy here. And, forasmuch as we have a better life to come than this present is, an eternal society with Christ, which neither the malice of time, neither the distance of place can dissolve or separate; I exhort you now, as one that hath obtained mercy of God in the reparation of his image in me, to embrace the care thereof with earnest desire to attain the same, whereby we shall all have a perfect fruition of our love and friendship, which already we have here begun, and with God in heaven shall be (without all doubt) made joyfully perfect.

Let this be a perpetual remembrance of your poor afflicted friend, which daily looketh through fire to enter into that eternal life, where he trusteth assuredly to enjoy your fellowship, if the image of God be renewed in you through the knowledge of Christ which you have received and do know. Look, whose image the coin beareth, his it is. Semblably, if your conversation be after the gospel, verily you are the elect of Christ; but if it be according to the world, his servants you are whom your life doth express. We have all in baptism put on Christ, whom if we endeavour to represent, we are indeed the sons of God and inheritors with Christ. One good rule St Paul to the Romans, in the twelfth chapter, doth appoint for the restoration of this our image of God: "Fashion not your lives (saith he) unto this world; but be ye changed in your shape by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is the will of God, which thing is good, acceptable, and perfect." God grant that this rule may take place with you; and then doubtless our company shall be inseparable with all the saints of God in eternal bliss.

Be you not deceived by the vain possessions and uncertain pleasures of this world, which serve to none other purpose than to blind your eyes, that they might not behold the things which be glorious and permanent for ever. The things which we see are mortal; but the things which we see not, but certainly hope for, be immortal. "For all flesh," as the prophet Esay saith, "is but grass, and the glory thereof as the flower of the field." Oh that you which have the possessions of this world, would so account them, and not sell

your eternal inheritance for a mess of porridge, as Esau did! God open your eyes, that you may see the glory of Christ in the mount with Peter, John, and James! Then, I doubt not, you would say with Peter, "Lord, it is good for us to abide here: let us here make our dwelling-places." We have in this world no firm mansion, but we seek after that which is to come; the which if we seek now where it may be found, we shall surely find it. If we mortify the image of Adam, which through sin reigneth in our flesh, then shall the image of Christ revive in us to our eternal glory. We are all baptized to die with Christ, to the end we should walk in newness of life, as persons dead to the world and living to God. And if we die with him by crucifying our concupiscence and lusts, we shall eternally live. Infidelity is the cause of all our misery, which causeth us to fear man more than God, and to esteem the things present more than the things to come. God enlighten our eyes, that we may understand how precious an inheritance Christ hath prepared for such as hunger and thirst thereafter! Then, I doubt not, we would say with St Paul, "I am surely persuaded that neither death nor life, neither angels nor rule, neither power, nor things present, neither things to come, neither any other treasure or creature shall separate us from the love which is in Christ Jesus." The Lord increase our faith, and give us his holy Spirit to discern with ourselves how much we are grown in his image, and are like unto him: for how much we are unlike to the world, so much more are we like unto God, and so much the more do we approach unto him. The Lord draw you by his holy Spirit, and fashion you unto his likeness, that we may eternally live together! The means to come thereunto is diligent exercise in God's word, continual and faithful prayer, a desire and love to God, the fear of God, the contempt of the world, and a constant faith in the knowledge of his word joined with the works of righteousness.

This is the sum of all our christian religion which we do profess; which if we follow, happy are we that ever we were born. But if we be negligent in this, it had been better for us never to have been born: for cursed are they that

decline from the Lord and his holy commandments, and have their delights in the vanities of this world. Cease not to follow the image of God, and to express the same in yourselves to the glory of God; and then God will glorify you for his image sake, which he saith to live in you. We are all weak in transforming the same in us at the beginning; for our flesh is clean contrary to it. But we must not give over by lawfully striving, until we may say with St Paul, "Now live I, but not I, but Christ in me." The Lord grant that Christ, which by the gospel is planted in us, may be fashioned in our godly conversation, to the glory of God, and to the good example of our brethren, that our temporal life may be changed into eternal life, and our friendship in God eternally endure! Amen.

This last farewell I send unto you to be a token of my love until we shall meet in the kingdom of Christ, there to rejoice perfectly of that godly fellowship which here we have had on the earth. God hasten that meeting and deliver you from the temptation which is now come upon the church of England, for the trial of such as be faithful in the Lord's testament, to the crown of their glory if they be found faithful to the end! Let us watch and pray one for another, that these evil days do not overwhelm us, in the which "our adversary the devil goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour." The peace of God remain with you for ever! Written in the king's bench by one of the poor captive sheep of Christ, appointed to the slaughter for the testimony of the truth, where he doth joy, and wisheth you to joy, praising God with him. Amen.

JOHN PHILPOT.

LETTER XXI[1].

To a certain lady, encouraging her under the present evil times.

THE spirit of joy and rejoicing be with you, and be you comforted through his loving and comfortable leading and governance, and make continually joyful your unfeigned heart, my dearest sister in the Lord, continually joyful against all the fiery temptations of the enemy in these our days, by Jesus Christ our Saviour! Amen.

Praised and exalted be the name of our living God for the truth of his faithful promises, which he maketh his people to feel in the time of extremity, when they seem of the world to be forlorn and most miserable! Such is the goodness of the omnipotency of our God, that he can and doth make to his elect sour sweet, and misery felicity. Wherefore it was not without cause that the wise man in his proverbs writeth, "Whatsoever happeneth to a just person, it cannot make him sorrowful." All things work to good unto them which be good. Unrighteous we are, and wicked of ourselves, yea, when we have our gayest peacocks' feathers on: but through Christ, on whom we believe, we are just; and in his goodness we are good; and hereby have daily experience of his mercy and loving-kindness towards us in our afflictions and miseries, contrary to man's judgment.

Therefore, let us always, as David did, put the Lord before us; and then we shall find, as he said, that "He is on my right hand, and I shall not be moved." Sure it is, as St Paul saith, "If God be with us, who shall be against us?" As who should say, that all that our enemies can do maketh for our glory, so long as we abide in God. What hurt had Sydrach, Mysach, and Abdinego by the fire, whiles the Lord walked

[1 This letter is not contained in Foxe. It is taken from Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials, Vol. III. Part II. Numb. xlix. p. 380. Oxford, 1822. Lady Vane is probably the person intended by the words in the prefixed title.]

with them? What annoyance had Daniel by the fierce lions in the dungeon, the Lord being with him? So mighty is our Lord, and able, yea, and ready, to comfort such as put their whole trust in him.

Therefore, mine own heart, be of good cheer in these cruel days, for these are to the increase of our glory. They that bring us low do exalt us; and they that kill us do open the gates of eternal life. You, by the Spirit of God, wherewith your mind is endued, do see that I say, and I by experience do feel it; praise be to God therefore! I cannot but lament the blindness, or rather madness of the world, to see how they do abhor the prison of the body in a most righteous cause, and little or nothing at all regard the prison of infidelity in which their soul is fettered most miserably, which is more horrible than all the prisons of the world. How much the soul is more precious than the body, so much is the captivity and misery of the soul to be lamented than that of the body. God therefore be blessed, which hath given your tender person to understand that the liberty of the soul surmounteth all the treasures of the world; and that, the soul being free, nothing can be hurtful to the body. Hold fast this liberty; for this is the freedom of the children of God, by the which we pass without fear both through fire and water. And where to the world those be terrible, to the elect they are joyous and full of glory.

God spake to Moses on the mount in fire, thunder, and storms; and the voice was so terrible to the people, that they trembled thereat, and wished that God would not speak unto them in such wise: but Moses' face, coming out of the same, was so bright that the children of Israel could not behold his face. Even so shall our faces be in the midst of our fiery forms, that our enemies shall hereafter never be able to behold the brightness of our countenance. And although we be made as black as the pot's bottom that hangeth over the fire, yet sure I am that we shall be made whiter than snow, and purer than silver or fine gold.

If we have to joy in any thing in this world, it is in tribulations, by the which we are certified to be the children of God and inheritors of his everlasting kingdom. "By this," saith St John, "we know the love of Christ towards us, that he gave his

life for us." And by this we know we love him, that we are ready at his calling to yield our life for the testimony of his truth to our brothers, that they might have occasion to learn by our faithful example to esteem more the things of God than of the world. O God, increase this true faith in you; for I see you hereby to be in possession of heaven. Continually, through hope, behold the things that be not seen, but yet hidden for our greater reward: and then shall not this noble faith perish, but grow to perfection and fruition of God. What, though this sack of dung which we carry about us doth pinch and repine at this our pure faith, shall it discomfort us? No, truly, but make us more circumspect and vigilant that we be not overthrown in our right ways, since we have so familiar an enemy. By faith we overcome, and he that overcometh shall be crowned. Therefore the assaults of the flesh and of the world wherewith we are to be pressed as long as we live, ought to make us diligenter in spiritual things, and to be more desirous to be delivered out of this body of corruption. Happy be we that see the danger of our conflict, whereby we are admonished to beware, and to run to the strong hold of the name of the Lord our defence, to the which in all your temptations I do most heartily commit your faithful heart for ever.

As concerning mine own affairs, since I came to the bishop's coal-house, I have been six times in examination, twice before the spiritual bishops, and once of late before a great many of the lords of the council, before whom I have more frankly, I thank God, uttered my mind than I did any time before. The matter laid against me was the disputation in the convocation-house two years past concerning their idol, the mass, the which by all means they would have me recant: and I have answered, that if the clergy that now rule the roost, can prove either their sacrament of the altar to be a sacrament, or else themselves to be of the true church of Christ, that I would be as conformable to their doings as they could desire.

I look daily for my final judgment, which was promised me ere this; but I think now they will defer it until the end of the parliament. God, in whose hands my life is, hasten the time in his good pleasure, and make me worthy of that

great glory! You are at present with me as I am with you. Christ give us a perfect fruition one of another in his kingdom! Our brethren that be gone before us, do look for us. Hasten, O Lord, our redemption, and suffer us not to be overcomed of evil. Amen.

Out of the bishop's coal-house, whereof one Eleynye, dwelling in Paternoster Row, gaoler of Lollards' tower, and another named Fountain, are keepers: the 13th of November.

Your own in Christ Jesus,

JOHN PHILPOT.

To my right well-beloved, and
the very elect lady of God
which hath chosen the
better part, this be
delivered.

APOLOGY

FOR

SPITTING UPON AN ARIAN.

IESUS IS GOD VVITH VS.

An Apologie of Jhon Philpot vvritten for Spittinge vpon an Arrian, vvith an Inuectiue against the Arrians, (the very natural children of Antichrist) vvith an admonition to all that be faythfull in Christe, to beware of them, and of other late sprong heresies, as of the moste enemies of the Gospel.

[The text of the following 'Apology' is that of the black letter edition (without date) of the 'Examinations'; to which this 'Apologie' is subjoined. A portion of it is found in Strype; with whose copy (as far as it extends) the text here adopted has been compared.]

I AM amazed and do tremble both in body and soul to hear at this day certain men[1], or rather not men but covered with man's shape, persons of a beastly understanding, who, after so many and manifold benefits and graces of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ manifested to the whole

[1 The leading idea of the Arian system was, that the Son of God was a *created* being. The Arians allowed that Christ was God, but only in the same sense as holy men and angels are styled "gods" in scripture. They admitted that the Son was truly God, but contended that he was made so by God. They granted that the Son was naturally of God; for even we, said they, are of God, of whom are all things. They denied not that the Son was the power, wisdom, and image of the Father; but limited their concession of these attributes to him, to the measure in which the same terms were applicable to themselves: for we also, they argued, are said to be the image and glory of God. Such are the propositions which the members of the Nicene Council extracted out of the writings of Arius, as we learn from Athanasius' account of the disputations of that synod. Vide Cave's Life of Athanasius.

It is needless to observe that the heresy of the Arians is not to be included among those which the author designates in his title as, in his day, *late-sprung*. Arius, who seems to have been an African, arose about A.D. 316. He began a dispute with Alexander, his bishop, (of Alexandria,) concerning the nature and dignity of the Son of God. The controversy spreading until the whole of Christendom was involved in it, Constantine summoned the Council of Nice, A.D. 325, to settle it, but without effect. Some of the succeeding Roman emperors favoured Arianism, and wars ensued, until the end of the seventh century, when the heresy disappeared, and sound views upon the Trinity prevailed until the middle of the sixteenth century: at that time some new sects arose, and others (among them Arianism) revived. The *doctrines* of Arius cannot be better ascertained, than by reading two epistles of his own; the one

world, and confirmed with so evident testimonies of the patriarchs, prophets and apostles, approved by wondrous signs and undoubted tokens, declared to be both God and man, Rom. i. by the Spirit of sanctification, the eternal Son of God with Heb. i. power, the very express image of the substance of the Father, and revealed unto us in these later times, in the flesh born of the seed of David, in the which he hath taught us truly[1], and marvellously finished the mystery of our salvation, and is ascended in body into heaven, from whence his divinity abased himself for our glory, and sitteth in[2] equal power at the right hand of the Father in his everlasting kingdom,—notwithstanding are not ashamed to rob this eternal Son of God, and our most merciful Saviour, of his infinite majesty, and to pluck him out of the glorious throne of his unspeakable deity.

O impiety of all others most detestable! O infidelity more terrible than the palpable darkness of Egypt! O flaming fire-Isai. vii. brands of hell!—as I may use the terms[3] of the prophet Esay against such apostates: was it not enough for you to be grievous unto men by so manifold sects and heresies, dividing The Arians have many heresies. yourselves from Christ's true catholic church, as never hitherto hath been heard of any heretical segregation, but will also be molesters unto my God[4], the eternal Son of God? What heart may bear such blasphemy? What eye may quietly behold such an enemy of God? What member of Christ may allow in any wise such a member of the devil? What Christian may have fellowship with such rank antichrists? Who, having the zeal of the glory of God in his heart, cannot burst out in tears and lamentations, to hear the immortal Gen. iii. glory of the Son of God trod under the feet by the vile seed

written to Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, in which he particularly mentions the opinions for which he suffered; the other to his own diocesan, in which he rectifies some misstatements concerning his views. This latter epistle is signed by fourteen persons besides himself.]

[1 "He hath taught us all truth." Strype. Oxford. 1822. Vol. III. part ii. p. 363. From "Foxii MSS."]

[2 *With* equal power. Str.]

[3 As I may use the *words*. Str.]

[4 [No like] thereto hath been heard by any heretical segregation but [have offered such contempt] unto my God. Str.]

of the serpent, whose head by his eternal godhead he hath beaten down, and therefore now lieth biting at his heel, lurking in corners? But he shall be crushed in pieces unto eternal woe, after he hath spewed out all his venom; for brighter is the glory of our God and Christ, than it may be darkened by all the rowte[5] of the prince of darkness, who dwelleth in the light which is unapproachable, although these dead dogs do take upon them with their corrupt light to pierce and blemish the same to their own blinding for ever.

If the good king Ezekias, after he had heard the blasphemies that Rabsaces uttered against the living Lord, tare his royal garments in pieces in testimony of the sorrow[6] he had conceived for the same, shall we be still at the blasphemous barkings against our Lord, and shew no token of indignation for the zeal of his glory? If Paul and Barnabas, perceiving the people of Listris to take the honour of God, and attributing the same to creatures, rent their garments in signification that we all should declare (by some outward means) the like sorrow when we hear or see the like blasphemy, how may we with patience abide to hear the robbery of the majesty of our Christ's equality with God, who (as St Paul witnesseth) "thought it no robbery to be equal with God?" What faithful servant can be content to hear his master blasphemed? And if perchance he shew any just anger therefore, all honest men do bear with his doing in that behalf: and cannot you, good christian brethren and sisters, bear with me, who, for the just zeal of the glory of my God and Christ, being blasphemed by an arrogant, ignorant, and obstinately blinded Arian, making himself equal with Christ, saying that God was none otherwise in Christ than God was with[7] him; making him but a creature, as he was himself; vaunting to be without sin[8], as well as Christ,— did spit on him? partly in declaration of that sorrow which I had to hear such a proud blasphemer of his Saviour, as also to signify unto other there present, whom he went about

Isai. xxxvii.

Acts xiv.

Phil. ii.

The cause why I did spit.

[5] Rowte: rabble.]
[6] The *great* sorrow. Str.]
[7] *In* him. Str.]
[8] [Pretending] you to be without sin. Str.]

to pervert, that he was a person to be abhorred of all Christians, and not to be companied withal. If this my fact seem to some, that judge not all things according to the Spirit of God, uncharitable, yet let them know that God (who is charity) allowed the same. For it is written in the
Luke xii. gospel, that Christ came not to set us at peace with men in the earth, but all[1] division, and that is for his cause and truth. And whosoever will not abide with Christ's church in the truth, we ought not to shew the points of charity
Matt. xviii. unto any such, but to take him as an heathen and a publican.

2 John. "If any man, (saith St John,) bring not unto you this doctrine, which I have taught you, say not God speed unto him; for whoso saith God speed unto such a one, is partaker of his evil doings." Consider you, therefore, that have love and fellowship with such, that the same damnation shall fall upon you therefore, as is due to wicked heretics. God
2 Cor. vi. will have us put a difference betwixt the clean and unclean, and to touch no unclean persons, but to go out from them. And what is more unclean than infidelity? who is a greater infidel than the Arian, who spoileth his Redeemer of his honour, and maketh him but a creature[2]? What fellowship is there between light and darkness? what concord can there be between Christ and Belial[3]? Never was there more abominable Belials than these Arians be. The ignorant Belials worshipped the creatures for the Creator; but these perverse Arians do worship Christ (who is the creator of
Col. i. all things, by whom, as St Paul testifieth, both in heaven
Rom. ix. and earth all things visible and invisible were made, who is

[1 *At* division. Str.]

[2 The author's use of this term *creature* should not mislead us as to the real doctrine of Arianism on the subject of the nature of the Son of God. The patrons of that sect did not maintain that Christ was a mere man, chief among men, but still no more than man. This was and still is the Socinian heresy. The Arians maintained that the Son, though the Son *of God*, was yet *made* such by the Father. There are degrees in error: and though the Arian view is as truly a heresy as the Socinian, yet is it not to be confounded with it.]

[3 Belial's worship. Str.]

God blessed for ever, and as St John witnesseth, very God and life everlasting,) but as a creature like unto themselves. What christian man may call him to be a good man that denieth Christ to be the author and worker of all goodness, as the Arian doth? "Woe be unto them (saith the prophet) that call evil good, and good evil!" Judge therefore uprightly, ye children of men, and condemn not the just for the unrighteous' sake, neither by any means seem to allow, either in word or deed, the wicked, who say there is no God; for they that honour not the Son, honour not the Father; and he that hath not the Son, hath not the Father. And if we believe in God, we must also believe in Christ; for the Father and he be one. And none in the Spirit of God can divide Christ from the substance of God the Father[4], unless a natural son may be of another substance than his father, which nature doth abhor. Who can abide the eternal generation of the Son of God to be denied, since it is written of him, "His generation who shall be able to declare?"

1 John v. [Isai. v. 20.] John v. John xiv. John x. 1 Cor. xii. Isai. liii.

Is there any true christian heart that grudgeth not at such faithless blasphemers? Can the eye, ear, tongue, or the other senses of the body be content to hear their creator blasphemed, and not repine? Should not the mouth declare the zeal of his maker, by spitting on him that depraveth his divine majesty, which was, is, and shall be God for ever? If God, as it is mentioned in the Apocalypse, will spew hypocrites out of his mouth, such as be neither hot nor cold in his word, why may not then a man of God spit on him that is worse than an hypocrite, enemy to the Godhead, manifested in the blessed Trinity, which will in no wise be persuaded to the contrary? If Christ with a whip drove out of the temple such as were profaners thereof, ought

Rev. iii. John ii.

[4 The point which Arius denied was (in the language of technical theology) the *consubstantiality* of the Son with the Father. His reasoning was, that as Christ came from the Father, if he was consubstantial with him, the Father must be divisible, since a *part* of the Father must have left the rest. But this curious speculation and erroneous inference might have been spared, had Arius reflected that the language which is used by the Holy Ghost to reveal awful mysteries about the nature of God,—since it is necessarily adapted to finite understandings,—must not be taken just as a saying upon "earthly things," to minds capable of grasping all it signified, ought to be taken.]

not the servant of God, by some like outward signification, reprove the villany of those that go about to take away the glory of him that was the builder of the temple? If there were as much zeal in men of the truth, as there is talkative knowledge, they would never be offended with that which is done in the reproach and condemnation of froward ungodly men, whom nothing can please but singularities and divisions from the church of Christ, which ought to be the mother
Gal. iv. and mistress of us all[1], to lead us into all true knowledge of the word of God, and not imagine by ignorance[2], taking the word of God, daily another gospel and another Christ, as every sect doth, separating themselves from Christ's spouse[3],
Eph. i. which is the same that is the accomplishment of truth, [hitherto never knew[4].] O insatiable curiosity! O arrogant self-love; the original of all these heresies! O pestilent canker of thine own salvation! O Arian, the right inheritor
Isai. xiv. to Lucifer, that would exalt his seat, and be like to the highest; whose fall shall be like, where the sin is equal. If
Rev. ii. God did highly allow the minister of Ephesus, for that he could in no wise abide such as said they were apostles, and were not in deed, how may any lay uncharitableness unto me, which for the love of my sweet Christ do abhor all fantastical Arians, in such sort as all men ought to do that love the Son of God unfeignedly? If Moses be commended
Acts vii. by the scriptures for striking an Egyptian that did injury to one of the people of God, how may he justly be blamed which did spit at him that doth such injury and sacrilege to the Son of God as to pluck him from his eternal and proper Godhead? Was there ever creature so unkind? Was there ever man so temerarious, to shrive[5] against the glory

[1 *All* is omitted in Strype.]

[2 "Yn .... by .... ignorance." Strype. "Imagine by ignorance," probably means *ignorantly imagine*—frame ignorant fancies.]

[3 This sentence seems to need the insertion of some words to make it clearly intelligible, if not grammatically complete. The words "which singularities, the church," placed before "which is the same," will supply what is, apparently, wanting.]

[4 Hitherto never knew—omitted. Str.]

[5 As to strive. Str. *Shrive;* a Saxon word meaning *to make confession to a priest;* and may be supposed to mean here, *to offer arguments,* or make a confession of faith, *against* the glory of Christ.]

of his glorifier? Was there ever heretic so bold and impudent as the Arian is, that durst take from the Son of God the glory which he had with the Father from the beginning? If Christ be the beginning and ending of all things (as he testifieth himself[6] to St John), how may he be but a creature, like unto others? Who may dissemble such blasphemy that hath any spark[7] of the Spirit of God? Who may hear with patience the right ways of the Lord perverted by these devilish holy Arians, and hold his peace? A lively faith is not dumb, but is always ready to resist the gainsayers, as David saith, "I have believed, and therefore I have spoken." Speak then, you that have tongues to praise and confess against these Arians; exalt your voice like a trumpet, that the simple people may beware of their Pharisaical venom[8], and be not deceived, as now many are unawares of simplicity. Suffer them not to pass by you unpointed at: yea, if they be so stout that they will not cease to speak against God our Saviour and Christ, (as they are all new baptized enemies thereto,) refrain not to spit at such inordinate swine as are not ashamed to tread under their feet the precious godhead of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Rev. i.

Psal. cxvi.

Our God is a jealous God, and requireth us to be zealous in his cause. If we cannot abide our own name to be evil spoken of, without great indignation, shall we be quiet to hear the name of our God defaced, and not declare any sign of wrath against them? It is written, "Be angry and sin not." A man then may shew tokens of anger in a cause which he ought to defend, without breach of charity. The prophet David saith, "Shall I not hate them, O Lord, that hate thee? and upon thine enemies shall I not be wrathful? I will hate them with a perfect hatred; they are become mine enemies." Aaron, because he was not more zealous in God's cause, when he perceived the people bent to idolatry, entered not into the land of promise. God loveth not lukewarm soldiers in the battle of faith, but such as be earnest and violent shall inherit his kingdom. Therefore St Paul biddeth us to be "fervent in spirit;" and you that are too cold in these

Exod. xx.

Psal. iv. [Eph. iv. 26.]

Psal. cxxxix.

Rev. iii.

Matt. xi.

Rom. xii.

[6] Of himself. Str.]
[7] *Sparkle.* Str.]
[8] *Vermin.* Str.]

days in the conflict of the gospel, as well against these arch heretics as others, whereof there be, at these days, stirred up by the devil an infinite swarm to the overthrow of the gospel, if it were possible, I exhort you not to judge that evil which God highly commendeth; but rather to pray that God will give you the like zeal to withstand the enemies of the gospel, neither to have any manner of fellowship with these antichrists, whom the devil hath spitten out in these days, to defile the gospel, which go about to teach you any other doctrine than you have received in king Edward's days, in the which (praised be God!) all the sincerity of the gospel was revealed, according to the pure use of the primitive church, and as it is at this present of the true catholic church allowed through the world. The Spirit of God, the Holy Ghost, the third person in Trinity, whom these wicked Arians do elude[1] and mock, hath taught the church (according to Christ's promise) all truth; and shall we now receive another vain spirit, whom the holy fathers never knew? Try the spirits of men by God's word, and by the interpretation of the primitive church, who had promised[2] of Christ to receive by the coming of the Holy Ghost the true understanding of all that he had spoken and taught, after the which we have been truly taught to believe three persons in one Deity; God the Father, from whom, and God the Son, by whom, and God the Holy Ghost, in whom all things visible and invisible do consist, and have their being and life. In the which belief we were baptized by the institution of Christ, into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And shall we now begin to stand in doubt of this most firm faith, the which from the beginning hath been confirmed, besides the undoubted testimonies of the scriptures, with the precious blood of an infinite number of martyrs and confessors? It is no marvel though these Arians deny the Holy Ghost to be God, who refuse the testimony that he made of himself in the fiery tongues to the primitive church, and before that, in the likeness of a dove at the baptism of Christ. They must needs deny the Spirit of truth, who be led by the spirit of error, under the colour of godliness denying their true sanctifier and instructor, whom Christ evidently taught to be another com-

The gospel pure in king Edward's days.

Matt. xxviii.

Acts ii.

Matt. iii.

The Holy Ghost is a Comforter, besides Christ.

[1] Chide. Str.]

[2] *Had received* a promise. Had promise. Str.]

forter besides him; and therefore to the end he should so be believed, appeared visibly, as Christ did: but as their corrupt faces bash[3] not to deny the eternal Son of God, so are they not ashamed to deny the Holy Ghost to be God. Their forehead is like the forehead of a whore, hardened with counterfeited hypocrisy. Stiff-necked wretches they are, that will not yield to the truth, though it be never so manifestly said[4] before their face. They have sworn to run after their master the devil without stay, and to draw with them as many as they can, in the which they are very diligent. The Lord confound them! The Lord conserve his elect from their damnable poison! The Lord open all christian eyes to beware of them! The Lord give all his church an uniform zeal and mind to abhor them; and to cast faith from them[5]! You that be of the truth, and have any zeal of God in you, stir it up and bind[6] it against these enemies of our living God, which is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whom be all honour, praise and glory for ever.

The Arians are past shame.

Canst thou be angered with thy brother, being lawfully called to be a minister in Christ's church, and to be a teacher in the same, for spitting at an obstinate adversary of Christ, refusing to obey the truth; and declare no manner of indignation against the Arian, the thief that robbeth thy God of his honour? Doth the injury of the Arian more offend thee than the defence of thy Redeemer please thee? Art thou not ashamed rather to take part with an Arian than with a true Christian[7]? Thou wouldest seem to have charity by bearing with the wicked; and, contrary to all charity, thou backbitest thy brother for doing that which thou shouldest rather do, than to have any familiarity with them. If thou dwell within the church of Christ, what hast thou to do with them that be

[3] Bash not: are not abashed.]

[4] *Laid.* Str.]

[5] *Cast from them.* Str. What is the meaning of either of these readings, it is not easy to determine. To *cast faith from them,* may signify to 'have no confidence in,' or 'confidential intercourse with' them; while the other reading must be regarded as grammatically incomplete. It may have been intended by the writer for to 'cast *them* (the Arians) from them.']

[6] *Bend* it. Str.]

[7] *Right* Christian. Str.]

without, which go about nothing else but to build a new Babylon, and to destroy all the godly order of the gospel? I tell thee plain that I am nothing of that face[1], but give God thanks that I hear evil[2] for well-doing. If I should please men,
Gal. i. I could not please God. I marvel that there should be so little zeal in a true christian heart, that it can seem to take
1 Kings xviii. the part of an Arian. We cannot serve Christ and Baal: how
Heb. xii. long will men halt on both sides? Let your halting be healed. If ye be unfeignedly of the truth, abide in the truth, and let all your will be toward the professors of the truth in the unity of Christ's church, lest you may appear to be scatterers with heretics, rather than gatherers together with Christ. Do ye not see what a rabble of new-found scatterers there be, such a sort as never at once hath been heard of in one realm, the one
The devil hath shaken out his bag of heresies against the gospel. contrary to the other; so that the devil might seem to have poured out all his poisons at once against the gospel? And will you that glory of the truth, go about by word, deed and help, to maintain any such in their heady errors? He that toucheth pitch, cannot choose but defile his fingers therewith.
1 Cor. xv. "Be not deceived," saith St Paul, "for wicked talk corrupteth good manners. Therefore watch ye righteously, and sin not; for many there be that have not the knowlege of God: I speak it to your shame." St Paul willeth us to be more[3] circumspect in talking, or acquainting ourselves with such heathen men as at this day be, to their encouragement and strengthening of their error. The words of an heretic (as he saith in another
2 Tim. ii. place) "eateth like a canker." And therefore writing unto
Tit. iii. Tite he commandeth all christian persons to avoid an heretic after once or twice warning, knowing that such a one is perverted, and sinneth, and is damned by his own judgment.
2 Thess. iii. And to the Thessalonians he also saith, "We command you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the institution which they have received of us." There can be no fellowship betwixt faith and infidelity: he
Luke xi. that is not with Christ is his enemy: he that is an enemy to

[1] Nothing ashamed of that fact. Str.]

[2] Hear evil: am evil spoken of: a literal translation of the Latin phrase, *malè audire.*]

[3] *More*—omitted in Str.]

the unity and peace of Christ's church, he may not be coupled with us. And Solomon rendereth a cause why: "A perverse man in his mouth doth carry perdition, and in his lips hideth fire." Again, he sayeth, "An evil man obeyeth the tongue of the unrighteous, but the just hearkeneth not to lying lips. Also Ecclesiasticus writeth[4], saying, "Hedge thine ears with thorns, and do not hear a wicked tongue." Prov. xvi. Prov. xvii. Eccius. xxviii.

This have I touched to give you warning, how to behave yourselves with the Arians and other schismatics and heretics, whom all godly order and good learning displeaseth; the which if our christian brethren and sisters did well weigh and follow, there would not be so many stout heretics as there be. I doubt that the heretics be better provided for than the poor faithful afflicted flock of Christ. If you hear that there is contention between us and them that be in prison, marvel not therefore, neither let your minds be alienated from the truth anything thereby; for, as it is written, "It is necessary that heresies should be, that the elect might be tried." Christ and antichrist can never agree. And as St John saith, "Antichrist is come, and there is now many antichrists; they are gone out from us, such as were none of us; for if they had, they should have continued with us." By this saying of St John, we may well try and know all the route of antichrist's generation. Such they be as break the unity of Christ's church, neither abide in the same, neither submit their judgment to be tried, in the causes which they brabble[5] for, by the godly learned pastors thereof; but arrogantly deprave them, and take upon themselves to be teachers, before they have learned, affirming they cannot tell what, and speaking evil of that which they know not: proud they are, and puffed up in the imaginations of their own hearts[6] and blind senses, and judge themselves best of all other, because they can make a pale face of hypocrisy to the world, and cast a glass of dissembling water before the eyes of the simple people, as these Arians do. But, praised be God! his word is lively and mighty, and beateth them all down, like an iron rod an earthern pot in pieces; and yet they are so hardhearted and far from grace, 1 Cor. xi. 1 John ii.

[4 Warneth. Str.] [5 Brabble: brawl.]
[6 Their own blind senses. Str.]

that they will not yield to the manifest truth, when they have nought justly to reply besides counterfeited words[1]. There is no pith in them—full of contention and backbiting. These brawling heretics are[2] under a pretence of feigned holiness, whom our Saviour Christ aptly compared to painted sepulchres, which be nothing else within but full of rotten bones. For whereas true faith is not in the unity[3] of Christ's church, there is nothing but abominable in the sight of God. For God (as the prophet saith) maketh his people to dwell after one manner in one house. But with all manner of sects can this perverse generation away with all, more than with the unity of Christ's pure catholic church, to the which in no wise they will agree, albeit the same is the pillar and stablishment of truth, as St Paul writeth[4] to Timothy. I never saw, neither heard before of, such a sight of giddy and fantastical heads, who delight only in singularity; whom I do much pity, because they take so much pains to go to the devil. Arrogant singularity and envious contention be ready paths, leading to the same, in the which they walk manfully. Still they have the scriptures in their mouth, and cry, 'The scripture, the scripture'; but it cometh like a beggar's cloak out of their mouth, full of patches and all out of fashion; and when they be (by the word rightly alleged) overthrown, that[5] they have not with reason what to reply, yet will they never be confounded; but either depart in fury, or else stop their ears at the saying of the wise charmers, like deaf serpents, or else fall to scolding, which is their surest divinity they fight withal. And if perchance any of them be soberer than other, their answer is, 'I pray you let us alone; our conscience is satisfied; you labour but in vain to go about to turn us.' Thus[6] in self-love, blindness, and vain hypocrisy, these heretics continue, be they never so learnedly or charitably informed.

Matt. xxiii.

Psal. lxviii.

1 Tim. iii.

Psal. lviii.

And where they have nothing to lay against their charitable informers, then they imagine most spitefully and falsely (to declare whose children they are,) blasphemies; spreading

[1] Besides counterfeited words, there is no pith in them. Str.]
[2] Full of contention and backbiting these brawling heretics are. Str.]
[3] Unity *and communion*. Str.] [4] Witnesseth. Str.]
[5] *And* they have not. Str.] [6] *For* in self-love, &c. Str.]

the same abroad, both by themselves and by their adherents, against the sincere professors of the gospel; that we make God the author of sin, and that we say, Let men do what they will, it is not material if they be predestinate; and that we maintain all carnal liberty, dice, cards, drunkenness, and other inordinate things and gain[7]; and with this I (among other) am most slanderously charged and defamed by these outrageous heretics, to whom I have gone about (to my power) to do good, as God is my witness; but I have received the reward of a prophet at their hands, although I am not worthy to be counted under that glorious name, which is shame, rebuke, slander, and slaying of my good fame. They are like Satan, their grandsire, in this point, who was a liar John viii. and a manqueller[8] from the beginning. These presumptuous heretics do daily declare their cold charity, which proceedeth out of their cold faith. God forgive it them[9] and inflame them with a better spirit! I protest before God and his angels, that I never meant, neither said, any of these infamies whereof I am belied by them, with many other good men. Only because I hold and affirm (being manifestly instructed by God's word) that the elect of God cannot finally perish, therefore they have picked out of their own malicious nails the former part of these blasphemies; and because at another time I did reprove them of their temerarious and rash judgment for condemning of men using things indifferent, as shooting, bowling, hawking, with such like, proving by the scripture that all men in a temperancy[10] might use them in their due times, and shewing that honest pastime was no sin, which these contentious schismatics do improve, whereupon they do maliciously descant, as is before mentioned. And whether I have deserved to have this reproach[11] for telling them the truth, which they cannot abide, let all men judge that be of an upright judgment. Might not these hypocrites be ashamed of their brideless[12] blasphemous tongues, if

[7 *Games.* Str.]

[8 Manqueller: manslayer, murderer; 'quell' being a Saxon word signifying to *kill.*]

[9 God forgive them. Str.]

[10 In a temperancy: in moderation.]

[11 These reproaches. Str.]

[12 Bridlesse: probably *unbridled.*]

the devil had not rubbed away all shame from their fore-
James i. heads? St James saith, "that if any person which would seem to be a gospeller refrain not his tongue, his religion is in vain." O what a many of vain caterpillars be there, which corrupt the sweet and wholesome flowers of the gospel to the shame thereof as much as it lieth in them! It had been better for them never to have known the gospel than by their proud free-will knowledge to go about to subvert the same. I would they would be taught by the church of Christ, where they ought to be, and become sincere confessors, or else leave bogging[1] of heresies to their own damnation
The heretics clout up[2] the scriptures without understanding. and decaying of many, and fall to their own occupation, every man according to his own calling, and learn to eat with the sweat of their own brows their bread, to help others, as God's word commandeth them, and not to lie in corners like humble dories[3], eating up the honey of the bees, and do nothing else but murmur and sting at the verity and at all faithful labourers in the Lord's vineyard.

Thus by the way I thought it good to admonish you of other heretics besides the Arians, who be handmaidens unto them, and do daily make an entrance for them to increase; who long[4] to one kingdom of darkness, although the one be
Matt. xv. not so high in degree as the other. "Blind guides they are, and leaders of the blind, and as many as follow them do fall
Prov. xiv. into the ditch:" for, as it is said of Solomon, "There is a way that seemeth to a man right, and yet the end thereof tendeth to destruction." Direct therefore your steps with the church of Christ in the ways of the gospel and in brotherly unity, and account it as the sin of witchcraft to make division from the same. And God of his mercy either turn their hearts shortly or else confound them, that they be not a shameful slander to the gospel, as already they have begun to be, to the great grief of all faithful hearts.

2 Cor. xi. The Arians counterfeit. Now will I turn to the Arian again, who transfigureth himself into an angel of light, as Satan oftentimes doth, that he might under the cloak of holiness more mightily de-

[1] Boggynge: botching up. Str.]
[2] Clout up: *join* scriptures together *clumsily*.]
[3] The plural of *dor* or *dorr*, the drone-bee.]
[4] Long: belong.]

ceive the simple folk. And verily he is a devil incarnate. He hath a name that he liveth, and indeed is dead. Judge them not by their outward shew, wherein they extol themselves wonderfully, and daare[5] simple men's eyes like larks. For our master Christ prophesied of such false hypocrites to come, giving us warning to beware of such as pretend the simplicity of a sheep[6] outwardly, and yet inwardly are ravening wolves, devouring the souls and bodies of men unto perdition. St Paul, departing from Ephesus, said there should rise up men speaking perverse things, that they might make scholars to run after them. St Peter setteth me forth these Arians lively in their colours, and in manner pointeth at them with his finger: "There hath been," saith he, "false prophets among the people, as there shall be among you false teachers, which privily shall bring in pernicious sects, yea, deniers of the Lord who hath bought them, procuring to themselves swift destruction, and many will follow their poisons, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, &c." Who be such Judases unto Christ as these Arians, which cease not to betray him of his eternal deity? Who slander more the truth than these, denying Jesus to be the God of truth? These be they of whom the Apostle Jude speaketh, which transpose the grace of our God into wanton imaginations of their own brains, and deny God, who is the only Lord, and our Lord Jesus Christ. "My mind, therefore," saith he, "is to put you in remembrance, forasmuch as ye once knew this, that the Lord (after that he had delivered the people out of Egypt) destroyed them which believed not. The angels also, which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day, &c." Even so shall the Lord destroy these unbelieving Arians, whom he did once through baptism deliver from the bondage of sin, because they have forsaken the deity of Christ, their original justice, and compared him unreverently and ungodly to themselves, to whom eternal fire belongeth, which is prepared for the devil and for these Arians, his chief angels. Worse they are than the devils, which in the 8th chapter of St Matthew did acknowledge him to be the eternal Son of God, and in

Rev. iii. John vii.

Matt. vii.

Acts xx.

2 Pet. ii.

Jude, 4—6.

Matt. viii.

[5] Daare: dazzle. Str.] [6] *Show.* Str.]

Acts xvi. the Acts of the Apostles they confessed Paul and Barnabas, which were the servants and disciples of Christ, to be the
James ii. servants of God most high. The devils in St James do believe and tremble at the majesty of Christ. The centurion
Matt. xxvii. in the 27th of St Matthew acknowledged him verily to be the Son of God. But these hell-hounds are offended at his eternal majesty[1], and would have him no better than themselves by creation.

Is this your[2] profession of Christ, O you antichrists? doth your feigned holiness tend to this end, to dishonour him that is most holy, and one God with the Father and the Holy Ghost, of all holiness? O you painted hypocrites! doth your counterfeited love and dissembling patience go about to abase the eternal love of God, his beloved Son? O you haters of God! put off your shameless visars. O you unbelieving Arians! put off your angelical infidelity and walk as you be. O you deceivers of the people! You say ye see, and yet be altogether blinded; for he that seeth not Christ to be the everlasting Son of God, seeth no light;
John i. for he is the very light by whom all men be enlightened. Seek therefore of him your eye-salve, lest in your blindness you stumble shortly to eternal darkness. O what huge blindness are they in, which say they have no sin in them! as[3]
1 John i. St John plainly affirmeth, "That whosoever saith he hath no
Psal. cxvi. sin, is a liar." And David saith, "That all men be liars."
Isai. lxiv. The prophet Esay saith, "That our righteousness is like the cloth of a menstruous woman." Shall we believe liars be-

[1] Eusebius of Cæsarea, the historian, seems to have held a kind of middle view,—that the Son of God was from eternity, but was not Jehovah, (the strict and original Arian position being that he was not from eternity;) a notion confuted by Dr Waterland in his reply to the scripture doctrine of the Trinity. The above-named Eusebius is to be distinguished from the man of the same name, (of Nicomedia,) the great advocate of Arianism, who wrote a letter to the Council of Nice, impugning the idea of the Son of God being uncreated. It was in answer to that letter, and the confession of faith of the Arian party which accompanied it, that Hosius of Corduba drew up a creed substantially the same as that which at this day bears the name of the Nicene Creed. This creed was sanctioned by the Council and by Constantine, (who acted as moderator on that occasion,) who denounced banishment against any who should refuse assent to it.]

[2] Your profession: *the* profession. Str.] [3] *Whereas.* Str.]

fore the faithful servants of God? If they know not themselves, is it any marvel though they know not God? "He that is unfaithful in a little will be also unfaithful in much." He that is not ashamed to belie himself, it is no wonder though he be so bold to belie another better than himself. How may a purblinded man behold the brightness of the sun? Who is so sore diseased as he that, being very sick, believeth that he is whole? Who knoweth not our flesh, as long as it is in this corruptible life[4], to be a lump of sin? Yea, and who feeleth not the law of sin which is in our members still to strive against the law of our mind? St Paul, who was taken up into the third heaven, and saw such things as is not lawful for man to speak of, whose godly life surmounted the rabble of these Arians, and yet he durst not be so bold as to compare in purity with Christ, neither to affirm that he was without sin; but acknowledged sin to be in his body, and desired that it might be taken from him; to whom it was not granted, but that it should remain with him, for his spiritual exercise, and by grace to overcome[5] the same, that when sin aboundeth, there grace should superabound. Why do you cleanse the outward sides of your stinking vessels, O you impure glorifiers of yourselves, and see not the inward abomination that is in you? Ye say ye be sweet before the Lord, and, behold, you stink before the face of the whole world, but specially before God and all his saints; for how can God but abhor all such as do take away the sweet savour of his divine nature from his Son, and to attribute that excellency to themselves which is not in them? Hath not God himself witnessed of man's impurity, saying that all the thoughts of man be only prone unto evil? Is not this inclination to evil which lurketh in our flesh, sin; and the natural corruption which we sucked from our first parents? Learn to know thyself better, and then shalt thou judge more uprightly of the Son of God. Cleanse thine inward filthiness and sin by an humble and repentant confession of thine own unworthiness and wickedness towards thy Redeemer, and then thine outward shew of holiness might be somewhat worth, which now is double devilishness, for want of true knowledge both of thyself and of faith to God. Know thine own poverty

[Luke xvi. 10.]

Rom. vii.

[Matt. xxiii. 25.]

Gen. vi.

Psal. li.

[4] As long as it is in this life. Str.]. [5] *Overrun.* Str.]

and misery, and come to thy Saviour, which is rich with God, and able of himself to enrich thee with all felicity. Thou art like them that be of the congregation of Laodicea, men-
Rev. iii. tioned in the Apocalypse, which saith[1] with them, that "I am rich and enriched and want nothing, and knowest not indeed that thou art wretched and miserable, both poor, blind, and bare. I counsel thee therefore to buy fiery gold[2] of the deity of our Christ, that thou mightest through true belief wax rich, and be clothed with his white garments, that the shame of thy nakedness might not appear," as it doth now to thy great confusion. If thou see not this, thou art one
John xii. of them whom Christ for thine infidelity towards him made blind[3] unto everlasting damnation. These Arians would not be counted miserable, and they cannot away with this goodly prayer which the church useth, saying, "Lord, have mercy upon us miserable sinners." But St Paul was not ashamed to say,
Rom. vii. "Miserable person that I am! who shall deliver me from this body subject to death?" He confesseth as well our miserable as sinful state in this life; and they that perceive the impurity of our nature which it hath through the fall of Adam, and the want of original justice which we lost by him, cannot but cry we are miserable, and say with David, "I am miserable and made crooked, I went all day long sorrowfully;" and pray with the blind man of the gospel, "Jesu, thou Son of David, have mercy upon us."

What vain religion is this of theirs! What pharisaical leaven do they scatter abroad! what lying hypocrisy do they maintain! But is this all? No, verily. It were too long for me to touch their infinite errors they are infected withal. They deny the old testament to be of any authority: David's psalms be not to be used as prayers and praises to God: and they are almost as bold with the new; for they find fault with the Lord's Prayer, and affirm that they need not say for themselves, Let "thy kingdom come," for it is already come upon them: and what need we pray, say they, for that we have already? And we have no sin; wherefore then should we say, "Forgive us our trespasses?" O impudency of all impudencies the greatest! O infidelity more than ever was among the brutish heathen!

[1 *Sayest* with them. Str.] [2 Gold tried in the fire.]
[3 *Hath* made blind. Str.]

Was there ever any that went about to set God to school before? He hath taught us how to pray, and they say, we need not so to pray. The godly men (saith St Peter) which 2 Pet. i.
did write the scriptures, spake not of themselves, but by the instruction of the Holy Ghost. And these frantic heretics and antichrists will both correct and teach the Holy Ghost to speak. Who having any spit in his body may not think it well bestowed[4] upon such wicked blasphemers of God and his word? I would I had a fountain of spittle to spattle on them: I would my spittle might be of so great virtue against them as the words of St Paul were against Bar-jesus, Acts xiii.
whom, resisting the belief of Christ, he called "the son of the devil," and therewith struck him blind. Better it were for a man to lose his outward sight, whereby corruptible things be only seen, than to want the inward, whereby God is perceived. And more precious is the glory of my Christ in my sight than all the men of the world.

The blind Pharisees, I know, will be offended at this my saying, and think it is uncharitably spoken; but I pass not upon their offence, answering them with Christ, "Let them alone, Matt. xv.
they are blind, and the leaders of blind:" he that is ignorant, 1 Cor. xiv.
let him be ignorant still, and he that is filthy, let him be more Rev. xxii.
filthy; but he that is holy, let him become more holy, and beware of these pestiferous Arians' leaven, who besides all this deny the benefit of repentance to any person that sinneth after baptism, contrary to the manifest word of God, saying that in whatsoever hour a sinner repenteth him of his sins, they Ezek. xviii.
shall be forgiven him. Do ye not think that these beasts are to be borne withal? Say what ye will, they[5] will not hear: they are like unto those of whom it is written in the Psalms, "Eyes they have, and see not; ears they have, and hear not; Psal. cxv.
they have noses, and smell not;" yea, they have a froward heart, and understand not: when the scriptures be so clearly alleged against them, that they have not what to say, these be their foolish answers,—They can make you understand it so;—you will not have it so;—if ye were of us, ye should perceive more than ye do. Thus under the pretence of a hidden secret, which they say is revealed unto them above

[4] Well *to be* bestowed. Str.]
[5] With this word ends Strype's account of the "Apology."]

all other, they would, through curiosity, have men to call their faith in doubt, and so to deny the same. But say to them, Depart from me, you Satan's whelps. Take heed lest by any
Cor. xi. means it come to pass, that like as the serpent deceived Eve, so by his subtilty your senses be corrupted from the simplicity of faith which ye have towards Christ. And if any man preach unto you any other Jesus whom the church of Christ hitherto hath not taught, or another spirit which the church hath not received, hear him not, believe him not;
Matt. xxiv. for such Christ prophesied of to come in the latter days, that should go about to shew other Christs than he taught
Heb. xiii. us, whom he chargeth us not to credit; for Jesus Christ (as it is written) is always one, yesterday, and to-day, and shall be to the world's end and for ever. Therefore do as St Paul
Gal. i. exhorteth you: "If an angel from heaven should preach unto you any other gospel besides that which hath been preached unto you, let it be accursed; or if any man preach any other, hold him accursed." These be sufficient warnings for all true Christians to beware of these late sprung heresies, and specially of these new baptized Arians, who be more crafty than the others, and more damnable, and for that the diligenter to be avoided. If they will go about to pervert you from the true faith in corners and dens, as they do very diligently, as I hear say, (the more pity it is they be so suffered;) tell such that the truth seeketh no corners, as the proverb teacheth us; and therefore if they were of the truth, they would not lurk in corners this long as they have done. The apostles, whose counterfeited successors they would be counted to be, after the truth of the gospel was revealed unto them, went forth and preached the same boldly, notwithstanding they were
John iii. straitly forbidden and persecuted for the same. "Every one (saith our Saviour Christ) that doeth well cometh to the light, that his works may be seen, that they be done according to God's will; but he which doeth naughtily hateth the light, and cometh not to the light, lest his doings should
The Arians lurk in corners and be coy to shew their faith. be reproved." By this ye may know that these Arians, with other heretics, are born of that prince of darkness, who walk continually under clouds, and with great difficulty will shew themselves, unless it be to some simple persons whom they think apt to be deceived. Therefore turn your ears from

them, all ye that be unlearned, when they endeavour to deprave your faith with another Christ and means of salvation than you have heard before of. And bid them first shew their new-found faith to the elders and ministers of Christ's true church, and afterwards, if they allow the same as sound and pure, you will gladly hearken unto them, otherwise not; for no person ought to take upon him the office of a doctor, except he be called thereunto by the ordinary allowance of the church of God, as St Paul testifieth, "How shall they preach except they be sent?" Therefore Christ, in St Mark, biddeth all persons take heed what they hear. There are innumerable sorts of heresies entered into the world, so that we may justly gather these to be the evil days that Christ spake of before, in the which, if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived. Be ye therefore strong in your faith, grounded upon the rock immovable, whatsoever storm come upon you or misty wind blow against you. Many inordinate persons of this time do run, whom the Lord hath not sent, as Jeremiah saith, and say the Lord saith thus and thus; whereas the Lord never spake any such thing as they of their fantastical brain do imagine, and through ignorance do misconstrue, to deceive others and themselves also. Therefore the Lord biddeth us not to hearken to their words.

Rom. x. Mark v. Matt. xxiv. Jer. xxiii.

Prove these wandering and glittering spirits by this rule which I have told you, and then be you assured ye cannot be deceived, though there arise ten thousand more heresies than there be. It may trouble an inconstant mind to see so many at once; but he that knoweth the devil's diligence to deface Christ's gospel, may not wonder thereat; for he knoweth his time is but short, and seeth the gospel so triumph through the death of faithful martyrs, that he is wood[1] thereat, and therefore worketh his uttermost, and trusteth to make some stout arrogant martyrs for the establishment and increase of his kingdom; and under the name of Christ, as he hath had in times past, that the simple people might be brought in a mangering[2] of their faith, and stand in doubt whom they

[1 Wood: furious, from the Saxon þoðan, to be mad.]

[2 A mangering: perplexing, throwing their faith *into confusion*, is the probable meaning, from *mang*, a word of Celtic origin, meaning to *stupify* or *confound*. See Jamieson's Etymol. Dict.]

might believe, that thereby he might more lightly seduce them into his snares. Behold, I have given you warning, that ye be not deceived by these wandering stars and empty clouds, which now-a-days are carried about with so uncertain winds that a man cannot tell where to find them, neither they themselves know from whence they came, neither whither they would. They will enter into heaven by the window, and not by the door; and therefore, like arrant thieves, shall be cast out.

Beware of curiosity, my dear brethren and sisters; for she is an unsatiable beast, and the cause of much infidelity and wickedness. She is always desirous of alteration and to hear news, and cannot be permanent on one sure ground. Dina, Gen. xxxiv. as it is written in the Genesis, being full of curiosity and desirous to see the women of a strange country, was ravished and lost her virginity, and was the destruction of Sichem. 2 Sam. xi. David was curious to behold the beauty of Bethzabe, and became thereby an adulterer and murderer; and was the cause 2 Sam. [xxiv.]. of many thousands' destruction by the curious numbering of his people. Therefore of experience he giveth good counsel, saying in the Psalms, "Turn away thine eyes that they see not vanity." Turn, I say, away from these heretics, shew not them a cheerful countenance, lest they receive an encouragement thereby to win thee unto them, and thou by curiosity be entangled through their hypocrisy and perverse talk. As many as abode in the ark of Noe were not drowned in the flood of Noe: even so as many as abide in the true church of Christ shall receive no hurt by all the blustering and corrupt waters which the dragon, that persecuteth the church into Rev. xii. wilderness, doth in the Apocalypse cast out after her, to the end to drown her therewith. You that stand in doubt of any thing by the suggestion of these new-found heretics, run to the pure catholic church of Christ for your sure instruction, which (praised be God!) at this day doth gloriously appear and shine, spite of the gates of hell, in all Germany, and in the borders of France, at Geneva, and in the kingdoms of Denmark and Pole, besides that which of late ye have seen in your own country, in England, now by the will of God under affliction and persecution, as well for our sins as for the trial of the people of God; for, as an ancient father, St Cyprian, saith, "He that hath not the church for

his mother, hath not God for his father[1]." We have but one mother, saith Solomon in his Ballets, and she coveteth to father us under her wings, like a loving hen her chickens, and if we abide there, we are assured from all the ravening vermin of heretics; and though there shall fall on every side of thee millions, yet shall they not approach near unto thee. But if after curiosity thou goest out astray, some kite or other will snatch thee up to the prince of the air, from whence thy fall will be great. If thou wilt be assured of the eternal kingdom of God, be stable in thy faith: flee from sects and heresies, and abide in the unity of Christ's spouse, his true church. Remember that in old time it was forbidden the people of God to marry with any foreign nation that was not of the house of Israel, in signification that the church of God should never join themselves with such as be of a strange religion and of heretical opinions, contrary to the catholic faith. "Cursed is he (saith the [prophet] Hieremye) that doth the work of the Lord negligently, and withdraweth his sword from blood." In the law he is commanded to be stoned that goeth about to turn us from the living Lord, and to move us to worship creatures for the Creator, and that the same should cast the first stone at him whom he went about to pervert. And what do these Arians else go about, but will us to worship their new-found Christ, whom they affirm to be but a creature, in place of our true Christ, the eternal Son of God, our Creator, Redeemer and Governor, who is God to be praised and honoured, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, world without end? The prophet saith in the Psalms, "There must be no new God among God's people:" but if Christ should be, as they say, but a made and appointed God of the Father, as princes of the earth be called gods, then should he be a new God, and by the word of God not to be taken to us for God, neither to be worshipped or called upon; for, as the prophet Jeremy testifieth, "Cursed is that person which putteth his confidence in man, and setteth flesh to be his strength." These wicked Arians are worse than the Jews, for they were offended with Christ, whom they took but for a creature, for saying he was the Son of God. But the Arians, blinder than

Cant. vi.

Jer. xlviii.

Deut. xiii.

[Psal. lxxxi. 9.]

[Jer. xvii. 5.]

[1 Habere jam non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem. Cyprian. Op. Par. 1726. Lib. de Unitate ecclesiæ, p. 195.]

the Jews, taking him for God, would have him to be only a creature, like to themselves in all points, and not very God of God's substance. They make the Jews more righteous than Christ, and do justify them for crucifying of him; for the chief cause why they crucified him was, as it doth appear by St John, "because he made himself equal with God," being but a man, as they took him to be only. What Christian's ears do not glow at this great impiety? Who, having any zeal of God, will not cry out, Ah devil! ah Lucifer's brood! ah marathans[1], cursed of God until his coming? Wo be to thee, Arius, the father of this wicked progeny! Wo be unto you, vile children and followers of his horrible impiety! God of his mercy turn from you, such as of ignorance and simplicity be deceived; but you that be arrogant and incurable in your blasphemy, the Lord for his glory sake, and for example to others to beware of such detestable impiety, consume you with fire from heaven, as he did Chore, Dathan, and Abiron! Let the ground, O Lord, open, and let them go down alive into hell! let them be put out of the book of life, and let them not be reckoned among the righteous: let them have the traitor Judas's reward, let them break asunder in the midst, and let their bowels gush out to their shame for ever: let their bowels[2] issue out behind, as Arius's bowels did, and let them die in their own dung with their father, and be abhorred of all the world for ever: let their portion be with Zodom and Gomor; let their stinking smoke be done out never: let the just rejoice when they shall see the re-vengeance of the glory of Christ; let them praise him, one God with the Father and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever! Amen.

[1 Marathans: the author probably meant *accursed:* "Maranathas," 1 Cor. xvi. 22.]

[2 This word is a substitution for that used by the author. The fact is recorded in Socrat. Eccl. Hist. Lib. I. c. 38.]

FINIS.

VINCIT QUI PATITUR.

A DEFENCE

OF THE TRUE AND OLD AUTHORITY OF CHRIST'S CHURCH.

An Oration of Cœlius, the second Curio, for the true and ancient authority of Christ his Church, against Antony Florebell of Matiny.

In the which, reader, besides the excellent and secret places of divinity thou shalt find a comparison of all old hereticks almost with the papistry; so that now thou mayest not stand in doubt it to be the same many-headed beast which is described in the Revelations of Saint John.

Translated out of Latin into English by Thon Philpott.

[MS. Bibl. Reg. 17. C. ix. in Brit. Mus.]

NOTICE OF CŒLIUS SECUNDUS CURIO.

[Cœlio Secundo[1] Curione, or Curio, was born at Turin in 1503, and received a liberal education at the university of that city. His father bequeathed him a beautifully written copy of the Bible; which induced him to read that holy book with more than ordinary interest. In his twentieth year he had the writings of the Reformers put into his hands: he studied them with attention; and became, in consequence, one of the great promoters of the Reformation in Italy. In the course of his travels he occupied himself for some time at the Priory of St Benigno, in endeavouring to enlighten the minds of the monks on religious points. He one day opened a box which lay on the altar of the chapel of the Priory; and, having removed the relics therefrom, placed in the box a copy of the Bible, with the following inscription: "This is the ark of the covenant, which contains the genuine oracles of God, and the true relics of the saints."

Suspicion falling on him as the author of this act, he fled to Milan; and thence to Pavia and Venice. The divine blessing manifestly rested upon the exertions of Curio: he was hailed by many among whom he dwelt, as an enlightened teacher; and these same persons became his protectors from the anger of the Inquisition, which was hotly pursuing him.

From Venice, the steps of Curio moved successively to Ferrara, to Lucca, to Lausanne, in Switzerland, where he was made Principal of the College; and lastly to Basle, in 1547. Here he became Professor of Eloquence and the belles-lettres; a post which he retained until his death, which took place in 1569, at the age of sixty-seven.]

[1 Philpot's translation, "*The second* Curio," appears to be a mere oversight.]

TO THE MIGHTY AND EXCELLENT PRINCE, THE DUKE OF SUMMERSETT, HIS GRACE, ETC., JHON PHILPOTT WISHETH HEALTH EVERLASTING.

Philosophy, in the first book of Boetius, maketh her complaint unto him, that her beautiful garments wherewith she was endued from the beginning be bereft and torn from her, and that by the feigned philosophers and Epicureans. Right so in our time the evangelical philosophy hath appeared by God his gift unto us, most excellent prince, and hath pitifully lamented that that purple raiment, I mean the verity of Christ's gospel sealed unto us with Christ his blood, which is John xix. without seam, and was wrought from above, hath been through Jewish hypocrites and other counterfeited Christians defaced, rented and casted lots upon, and that with dyfe[1] of advantage, which the devil the author of lies hath made a long season to run, to maintain his religion of hypocrisy. But forasmuch as an uncorrupt cause requireth an uncorrupt judge, and a just matter a just judgment, this evangelical philosophy could find a long time no redress against these her robbers and spoilers, and that by the corruptions and sin of man, wherewith we of England by the just judgment of God were blinded, as well as other nations, through our offences. So that she was constrained by the multitude of troublesome waters, which Rev. xii. that red dragon poured out after her to overwhelm her and to destroy her, to flee into deserts and there to abide her

[1] Such appears to be the word in the MS.]

time appointed by God, until he stirred up the just seed of David, I mean king Henry the eighth of most famous renown, whose memory (as I may use the prayer that was used for the dead in the old time) be blessed, which in his time called her out of wilderness, and set her in the right side of his regal throne; whereby God prospered him in all his affairs, and crowned him with more glory and honour than any one that
1 Chron. xxix. ever reigned in this realm before him: and like as David, preparing all things necessary to build the house of God, was letted by death, and the execution of that godly work he committed to his son Salomon; even so that noble king Henry, going about as much as he might for the malice of that time to restore this heavenly philosophy and lively food of our souls to her natural coat and dignity, was by the unsearchable destiny of God prevented by death, leaving unto his young and tender son, our lawful and sovereign king Edward the sixth, the accomplishment of this his former and godly intent, of the which God had constituted and appointed your grace to be the protector during his toward and virtuous nonage. In the beginning whereof your grace hath most justly and laudably
Matt. vi. sought first of all the kingdom of God and the justice thereof, according to the rule of the gospel, and daily goeth about to restore the bridegroom unto his perfection, surely knowing by this doing that all other worldly business shall have thereby, through the infallible promise of God, a more happier success, whatsoever worldly policy, hell gates, and the devil do gabbe to the contrary. The which thing the roaring
1 Pet. v. lion, of whom Peter maketh mention, perceiving (to whom
Rev. xii. power upon the earth is given for the trial of God his elect) that your Grace with the nobility of this realm earnestly do mind, he exciteth other foreign princes with sword, fire, and worldly tyranny to constrain men to drink of the cup
Rev. xvii. of the whore of Babylon, wherewith she hath sotted and made drunk the most part of Christendom; and that under

the pretence of religion, by renting, medlying, and racking the heavenly philosophy her garment thereto. And although heretofore the divelish hypocrisy hath been by the power of the verity vanquished and put to silence, both by reasoning, sermoning and writing, as it is by divers volumes plainly to be seen, whoso lust to compare the doctrine of the papists with the doctrine of Christ, so that these papists, like serpents, might be ashamed to hiss against the truth as they do daily: but, as the prophet Hierome writeth, they know not to be ashamed, and as Christ saith in John, "they cannot believe John xii. the truth, because that Esaias saith again, He hath blinded Isai. vi. their eyes, and hardened their hearts, that they should not see with their eyes, and understand with their hearts, and should be converted, and I should heal them;" and the cause hereof John yieldeth in the beginning of his gospel, because they "loved darkness rather than light:" therefore, that such as be ignorant of the Latin tongue, might by due proof manifestly see before their eyes, that the papists are justly by the word of God confounded, albeit through the right-wise judgment of God, for their obstinacy against the truth, they have ears and hear not, and eyes and see not, neither will understand to do that is right; I have translated into our mother tongue this book intitled, "The defence of the old and ancient authority of Christ's church," written by one Cœlius, an Italian, a man both of great learning and godly judgment, against Antony Florebell, a chieftan of the papists; in the which all these interims, that is, all erroneous and incident opinions which have slidden by the subtlety of the devil and tyranny of men into the church, are bulted[1] out, and as chaff tried[2] from the corn. The which I do exhibit unto your noble grace, as unto one to whom, next unto God, of

[1 Bulted, *or*, boulted: sifted.]

[2 Tried: separated. Such is the use of κρίνω, to *separate after trial.*]

duty the praise hereof doth appertain, whom your grace his godly example and love towards the verity encourageth as well me as others to labour in the Lord's vineyard, to help purge the same according to the talent as God hath given me; beseeching the Almighty Deity to grant your honourable grace strength of his power and might to accomplish as ye have began, and long life to maintain the same, to the glory of God, and to the preservation and honour of this realm.

So be it.

CŒLIUS THE SECOND CURIO, FOR THE TRUE AUTHORITY OF CHRIST'S CHURCH, AGAINST ANTONY FLOREBELL, OF MUTINY, WRITTEN UNTO THE SENATE OF HERNA, IN DIGNITY, WISDOM, AND TRUE RELIGION FAMOUS.

[The Latin original of this treatise is in the library of the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, where the editor compared it with the following Translation. Its title is as follows: "Cœlii Secundi Curionis, pro vera et antiqua Ecclesiæ Christi autoritate in Antonium Florebellum Mutinensem, Oratio. In quâ, lector, præter insignes et reconditos Theologiæ locos, comparationem reperies omnium ferè veterum Hæreticorum cum Papatu: ut jam nihil dubites, eum multicipitem esse belluam, quæ in Apocalypsi descripta est." *Basileæ.*]

I BELIEVE you, princes, to marvel what it meaneth, that whereas so many high divines and notable learned men do flourish, I chiefly have taken upon me this matter, which neither by exercise, nor wit, nor authority, am to be compared with them. But if ye shall ponder them to follow (as I judge them) a certain perfecter trade and reason in the very proper kind of disputation than this ours is, ye will not marvel at all. For of late Florebell, an Italian, a man eloquent and learned, hath pleaded the cause of the Romish church, and hath set forth the same with a certain manner of style, which seemeth somewhat to dissent from the customable use of divines. For as peradventure he reasoneth with lesser subtlety and judgment than they are accustomed, even so with a certain plentifulness, copy[1] and eloquence in prose, he both defendeth the superstition of Rome, and accuseth our religion that [is] christian. Wherefore I have thought it nothing contrary to my manner and duty, if I an Italian should make answer unto this man of Italy, and take upon me the just defension against his unjust accusation, and to allege earnest probation for the true authority of the church against the feigned and false, Christ sitting and his apostles judging, which alone of this cause may be true and incorrupt judges.

And albeit I am not able to bring like eloquence or learning, yet, that in this cause is principal and chief, I can truly comfort myself with a sincere mind, and well affectionate to-

[1 Copy: copiousness: "copia," *Lat.*]

wards the cause of religion. For since that men have nothing more precious and profitable than true religion, it behoveth that not only to be known of all men and observed, but also to be set forth and defended; for the true knowledge of God and sincere worship may not be peculiar, either to one family or people, or else sect of men; but whosoever be desirous of immortality, they ought to think the same to appertain to them. The folk of the Jews verily might, by a certain right, challenge unto them the outward jurisdiction, and the family of Aaron the priesthood with other ceremonies: but the divine and inward circumcision, the lively and true sacrifices, the everlasting laws of nature, which God, best of all creatures[1] and highest, from the beginning imprinted in the souls of men, which be approved by the judgments of all mortal men, neither Jews nor Greeks, neither Romans nor any other nation may arrogate to themselves to be as theirs peculiar. Neither they may say that truly, the which those men suppose, that the sum of our religion hath come to one singular person, as a man would say, by inheritance; so that after his own fantasy and pleasure he might interpret, add, take away, change, statute, and abrogate therein any thing. Neither for that cause laws were given from God, nor religion manifested, to the end that men should have authority thereupon; but that with all study, care, labour, and diligence, they should have it in reverence, and defend the dignity thereof. And as I may omit the Jews and other Gentiles, that did fix religion to consist in external things and outward worship, certes in this christian religion, which standeth alone in faith and ardent charity, which dissolveth the circumstances and knots of all other religions, it is lawful for no man to presume or go about any other jurisdiction than of those things which from God are appointed to us both to observe and maintain. The which things since that they be decreed by the authority of the Son of God, Master and Saviour of all men, Jesus Christ, and sealed up with his blood, and confirmed by his death; and of the Holy Ghost declared; by the voice of the apostles, throughout all the world divulgated and spread abroad; and by them do remain faithfully written, by the which the holy catholic church of Christ even from

Such as be desirous of immortality ought to know the scriptures and true worship of God.

Man hath no authority upon God's laws.

Christian religion standeth in faith and ardent charity.

[1] This must be understood as meaning "all *beings*;" or, better and higher than all creatures. Compare Coloss. i. 15.]

the beginning is governed and ruled; it betideth no man to doubt of the authority and fidelity of thilk things, neither to despise them, nor to be ignorant of them.

And the time hath been when I trowed it for me not only an impertinent thing, but also ungodly, neither to know or pronounce any point of our christian religion and philosophy: at that time, verily, when the power of a few usurped the common impery of religion, and held us out clean from the counsels, offices, privileges, and mysteries of it, as profane persons; and bereft us clean of liberty either to handle, entreat, or else to know it. But after that it pleased God to store up some good men, which should be shields and protectors of the liberty attained by him, and with ancient writings alleged should teach that no degree of wights[2], no folk, no condition of people, might be thrust back from the most sacred letters of our religion, and that nothing in them is so holy or privy, whose notice doth not belong to all men equally; then I began also to take heart of grace to beseech God, to seek, and mark, until by the gift of God my mind was a little and little unlaced from the knots of this foolish, or more rather false religion; and committed himself into the plain fields of holy scripture, and received again the old liberty. There I was compassed with many and grievous perils: for with covetousness, with pride, with ungodliness, and certes with the seven-headed beast, I must eftsoons fight; against the which with the shield of faith, and with the sword of the Spirit, Jesus Christ, our king invincible, hath armed us, and made us victorious. Therefore, when my mind rested by little and little from many storms and dangers, I thought it not good to consume good time in sluggishness and idleness; but as much as it was possible, and as much as for my business in instructing youth I might, to defend and illustrate the church of Christ and our religion. The which we have taken upon us, in this our defence of the church and the truth: the which, also, a great while before this we had accomplished, and surely with a quieter mind, in case[3] one sudden chance, as who would say a storm, had not interrupted me; and that through the fault of them rather, which, when they might, if they would, turn away the same

The knowledge of holy scripture belongeth to all men.

[2] No class of men.]

[3] In case, &c.: unless one sudden chance *had* interrupted me.]

from me before, had lever[1] to destroy me, that hath always been beneficial to them, than to save me. But now I intend to defend the holy religion and the church, and not to accuse any person; because by defending, than by accusing, a great deal more glory is obtained. Which defence we have so much more willingly taken in hand, for that we perceive, by the slanderous oration of our adversary, the same to pertain unto your dignity. For algates[2] I am bodily separated from your jurisdiction, but in heart no distances of places, no chance, no perversity of men, shall abalienate me from your clemency and faithfulness. Wherefore I dedicate the same, O you noble princes, unto your name and goodness; for it is right that such as in amplifying the religion of Christ, and in upholding the church, hath bestowed and do bestow so great cark[3] and labour, unto those also the sentences and arguments for religion ought to be ascribed[4]. For God, which is most best of all and mightiest, hath given you power to defend them, and also wisdom to understand them. Therefore, you most sage and strong princes, receive this defence of the church, after your accustomable humanity and courtesy, the which I trust shall be both profitable to the church, and at this time necessary and not unthankful[5] to you. But it is time that we take in hand our weapons defensives, and that, trusting upon the sincerity of our cause, we fight for the church, to the intent we may take our enemy, if it be possible; or if he will not yield himself, we may him, being overcome, cast down to the ground: for our contention is not of any frail or slipper matter, but of hope of the blissful life, of immortality, either to be obtained, or else for ever to be lost. Wherefore we will now contend for Christ's sake, both our guide and judge, whose cause is in communication.

First of all, then, the total cause is to be shewn, and to be set before men's eyes, that it may be more easily perceived together, what it containeth and what thing is meet for us to follow. All this matter may be divided in three parts. Whereof the first containeth the disputation, whereby our adversary goeth about to prove that the church is never

The division of this work.

[1] Rather: "perdere maluerunt," *Lat.*]
[2] Algates: for all that, although.]
[3] Cark: care.]
[4] Ascribed: inscribed.]
[5] Unthankful: unacceptable.]

able to err or slide; wherewith he willeth to conclude and to be brought to pass, that the same may establish what it will, and that the authority of her in all controversies of religion ought to be followed as well[6] as the word of God. The second part sheweth in what points Luther and others, which follow the self doctrine of the word of God, dissenteth with the Romish church, and thilk things he affirmeth to be false and to be rejected. The third part, verily, pertaineth to Luther's person, and to others, whom our adversary goeth about to bring in contempt, envy, and hatred. These things in this matter be to be regarded, in disproving of the which we will ensue the order of our adversary, and in manner his steps.

Principally, he beginneth his matter in defining what the church is; and afterwards he declareth the force and nature of faith, and so incontinent[7] he slideth down to the question of the authority of the church. But it shall be requisite that we describe those definitions, to the end they might the better be looked upon and considered. Therefore he defineth the church in this wise: that the church is the university of men worshipping Christ, keeping concord, spread throughout the whole world, with continual succession. But faith he defineth after this sort: Faith is a constant and sure consenting of the mind unto all such things that from God were opened and delivered to men for their souls' health.

No true definition of the church.

What faith is.

In his definition of the church there be two things put, in the which an ignorant reader might be deceived. For that he saith "keeping concord," I do suppose it thus to be understanded, that such as be in the church do agree upon christian doctrine. But if thou shalt appoint to me any other sort of people, which neither sincerely teacheth the word of God, nor righteously useth the sacraments, albeit that same be in great power and authority among men, and with this multitude thou wouldest all other to consent, neither (under the colour of concord to be kept) thou permittest any person to disagree from it; this thing shall never be granted to thee: for how may it be that betwixt the false and the true church there may consist any peace or unity? What concord, either

[6] By "as well" is here meant *as fully, as decisively*: "quasi," *Lat.*]

[7] Incontinent: from the Latin 'incontinenter,' immediately: but the word is not in the original.]

what atonement[1] (as very well speaketh Paul), is there betwixt light and darkness, betwixt Christ and Belial, betwixt the faithful and unfaithful? or how doth the temple of God agree with images? There is also in that definition one other word to be expounded by some distinction, where he saith, the church to "continue in succession:" for the church of Christ is not perpetual by succession of certain bishops in certain places, that a pope may succeed a pope, and a bishop a bishop, after a civil fashion, the which in empires and realms is oftentimes accustomed to be done; thilk thing we perceive our adversary to mind[2] throughout all his disputation; but it is so to be understanded, that the church is continual in succession, for because the church never faileth, in whatsoever places at length God willeth it to be, and of whatsoever persons to be governed, by the ministry of his word and doctrine: and like as one age succeedeth another, nor the world is at any time without men, as long as he that created him willeth it to be; sembably the church of God with such succession is continual. Wherefore most aptly and without any doubtful word, which specially in defining a thing is culpable, the beautiful nature and disposition of the church might by definition in this wise be expounded. The church is a certain congregation of men, meddled[3] eftsoons with good and evil, in the universal doctrine of Christ openly agreeing, and using his sacraments righteously. In this definition there is nothing wanting or abounding, nothing doubtfully put, neither excludeth hypocrites, either unclean persons, which to God alone be known, so that they do not deny the true doctrine, and pass over their life quietly.

A true definition of the church.

But the definition of faith hath nothing, after my judgment, that ought be to reproved, if we do understand thilk assent of mind to consist by the gift and influence of the Holy Ghost. Certes, such things as after that he speaketh, of the beginning of the catholic church, of his principles and progressions, that he affirmeth of the same bishops and pastors in every region or town to have been ordained, that he confesseth Jesus Christ to be the head of his church,

[1] Atonement: at-onement, agreement.]
[2] Thilk thing, &c. the thing we perceive our adversary to mean, &c.]
[3] Meddled: mingled.]

those things we do wholly allow and highly commend. And would to God, Florebell, thou didst persist in those same, and wouldest uphold thilk things that depend of these and which do ensue; for by that means it might well be provided for thy soul's health: for out of these former things this followeth, that all the residue of thy oration is false, as repugnant unto these thine premisses, and swerveth very far from thy foundation well laid. But I fear lest, as Sinon, of whom Virgil maketh mention, that he spake certain true things of Palamedes and Ulysses in the beginning of his oration which he made to the Trojans, to the intent that he might have credence[4] in the rest, which were not true; even so thou hast proposed these things, that we should believe all the other to be like and derived from these foundations. But if thou wilt be Sinon, we will not be Trojans; for they gave more affiance to Sinon a Grecian, that is, their enemy, than unto their soothsayer Cassander[5], than to their bishop. But we credit the prophets of God and our bishop Christ, which earnestly warn us that we beware of you; wherefore you cannot deceive us now: and we will bring it to pass through Christ, our captain and lodisman[6], that you may not lead other to error. Sinon.

But peradventure thou requirest what doth follow out of those principles: I will tell thee. First, if the church was grounded by Christ and his doctrine (as I may speak nothing of the old church of the Jews), this then followeth to be false, that ye say the pope, either a council, or else the church self, to be of more authority than the gospel. Moreover, if it had so great augmentation from those beginnings, that within fifty years almost it spread over all the world, and that without your decrees, without the authority of the pope, without any man's document; what meaneth it that with so high presumption ye go about by violence to persuade these your trifles, as a man would say, to be necessary for salvation, through which inventions the church a little and a little began to decay and to be turned from Christ, until at length scarcely any token did appear of that

The gospel within fifty years spread over all the world without the pope or man's decrees.

[4 Talibus insidiis perjurique arte Sinonis
Credita res. Virg. *Æn.* Lib. ii. 195.]

[5 "Cassandræ," *Lat.*] [6 Lodisman: pilot: "auspice," *Lat.*]

former church? Is not this true? Dare ye deny that very wemen[1] perceive? Finally, if of this one church Christ is alone the head, the which already thou hast granted, and if Christ liveth; neither the lively head can be absent from his body; and if he be present, because his presence is not vain, also he doth care, rule and govern it: it followeth then, that the bishop of Rome is not head of the church, nor any other person (I do except always the civil magistrate) to be sought as head or prince of the church. Dost thou see what ensueth these thy principles? and now all thy argumentation to fail?

Christ is only the head of his church.

But let us permit this to thee, that other things also may be pondered. These things, as I have said, set apart, Florebell cometh to that sort which he intendeth to fortify and defend, for because that no fortress can seem to be found more stronger for all points. Verily, this is his chief fort or tower, The Authority of the Church; but the rampyring and fortifying thereof is, That the church may by no means err. But lest we may be deceived, here of the church we must make a distinction, that we may understand how it may be said that it may err, either not err. I will not repeat thilk things, that he hath discussed of the signification of the word: I will only bring in the true and apt distribution of the church. Therefore, the universal church which dwelleth upon the earth may be divided into three sorts or kinds. So that the one kind be of those whom the scripture calls the elects, that be always predestinate to everlasting life: this is thilk only spouse of Christ, which he hath cleansed for himself: wherefore it is said to be without wrinkle or spot. Unto this also there is one other adversary and contrary, whom men clepe[2] the church, of the reproved rout; of all such, which with Christ and his saints bear a continual hatred: for like as Ismael which was born of a handmaid persecuted him that was the son of the free woman and matron of the house, named Isaac, unto whom alone those goodly behests did appertain; semblably even now the false church vexeth the true, and by thousands[3] means doeth it to anguish. But as the first was created to attain the blissful life, so is the other destinate to eternal punishments. Betwixt these two kinds

How the church may err or not err.

Three sorts of men in the church universal.

Ismael.

[Gal. iv. 29.]

[1] Wemen: women.] [2] Clepe: call.]
[3] A thousand: "mille modis affligit," *Lat.*]

there is a third intermeddled; or rather, out of these two sorts is become the third church mixed of either kind, which consisteth of good and shrews, of elects and damnable persons. This is for to declare a manifest and clear partition of the church. The definition of our adversary, wherewith he defineth the church, containeth the first kind only; but mine comprehendeth the last. Whereby it is evident, that Florebell hath taken a contrary definition from his disputation and purpose, when he afterward do confess himself to speak of this third kind: for where he saith in his definition, that the church is a congregation of men worshipping God in a right faith, it is plain that the church now comprehendeth the definition of the elects; for none beside the elects may worship and reverence Christ with a right, that is with a true and justifying, faith.

Whether the church may err.

When then it is demanded, whether the church may err, first we ought to consider what here by this word "to err" may be understanded: furthermore, what church may err, and what may not err. Therefore "to err" in this place doth not simply signify to sin, as he sinneth which stealeth away other men's goods, which slayeth a man, or committeth any like felony contrary to God's laws. But "to err" in this place is to forsake faith; not to retain the true worship of God; not to follow the word of God in judgment of matters of religion; to judge by man's decrees, and not by the divine scriptures; and to measure all things at the beck and will of him which in the church occupieth the mightiest place. Certes I say, this is in this question "to err;" for so Paul thinketh, when he saith certain to have erred from the faith, that is to say, from the religion of Christ, which once they had received; as also they did, whom Christ his self testifieth to believe for a time. Certes, those as be such hath believed by the persuasion of men, and not by the inspiration and instigation of the Holy Ghost. Wherefore they never had the faith and the spirit of the faithful; which if they had attained, they had never lost it to destruction and damnation.

What it is to err.

[2 Tim. ii. 18.]

By these then, I trow, now it is plain, which church either may or may not err; for that second church, and always false,[4] of the reproved sort continually erreth, nor at any time judgeth right wisely of God, of Christ, and of his doctrine

[4 "Omnino falsa," *Lat.*]

and religion; and yet he coveteth to be seen ofttimes to have a good judgment, and to be able to teach others. Of truth, the first church, which we have said to be of the elects, may err truly, but not continually; and that Christ his self witnesseth. For when he did prognosticate that there should come some which should shew themselves to be Christ, and false prophets with miracles and signs; (the which thing in the papistical church hath been done, where the pope hath challenged to himself the power of Christ and authority; where we heard every where so many miracles made of idols, by the working of the devil;) when, I say, he prophesied all these things to come, he added thereto this: "So that the very elects also (if it were possible) might be brought into error." From whence it is manifest enough, that the elects cannot continually err; for so thilk words of Christ be to be understanded: for as the wicked believe for a season, likewise those elects, because they be men, may be deceived, deluded, err, and slide for a time, specially when they swerve never so little a space from the course of that learning which they have received of Christ. But it is nedely[1] always there be some that err not, that stedfastly retain the true doctrine, the true faith, and the true invocation of God, that the wandering sheep of God, by the voice and calling of them, as it were by their herdsman Christ, might be reduced to the flock and sheepfold again. Therefore where we say, that the holy church of the elects may err, that is thus to be conferred, that it is possible some part of the church for a time to be deceived, when for all that, in the mean season, at all times they have a zeal of the truth and of true religion and continual fear of God, which is the salt, and mark, and keeper of the elects, yea, very then[2] when they err; and also when they plunge into any vice or sin. So then through these, I trow, may be gathered, that the church of the elects may wander in error, because some part thereof doth err; and again, that it may not err, in consideration that God reserveth certain unto himself, which may not be led in error. If that those at any time, then and then[3], be deceived; nathless[4] certain other

How it is that the elects may err.

The fear of God is keeper of the elects.

[1] It is nedely, &c.: there must necessarily.]
[2] Very then: even then.] [3] "Vicissim," *Lat.*]
[4] Nathless: nevertheless.]

do persist in the pure worship of God and sincere religion, both constant and firm; in this wise the church is said always to consist truly, and that it cannot err at any time. The which if once it should fail, so that there should be none at all upon the earth, God would not suffer this beautiful university of things to be, which was created for the children's sake of God and his elects, but would dissolve the elements: for because of the elects the world was made; for the elects' sake Christ came into the world; for the love of the elects the days shall be adbreviate and made short; for respect of the elects the world shall be destroyed.

For the elects' sake, God created all things.

But let us come unto that third church, whereof is all the controversy. That same, that same, Florebell crieth out, may not err; and that this hath equal authority with the gospel, and that it hath power to make new laws, rites, sacraments, and ceremonies, without the which we cannot be saved. Wherefore of that same let us speak a little, before we pass unto the arguments of our adversary. It is clear among all men, that this church, as touching the outward administration and worship, doth consist together of good and evil. Already before we have said, that both these may err. Albeit that I say 'may,' I would it not to be taken in the reproved sort so; as though they might not err, which cannot choose but err. But we speak in such manner as our speech may be applied to the question proposed. If that they both may err, why is it that Florebell with so open a mouth crieth, that this same church may never fall into error? But when these folk denieth this church to err, they understand such as be rulers, popes, bishops, councils: as who would say, it is more difficile for a ruler to err than the people; or else that it is not more lighter[5] for him to slide and fall which is in a high and slippery place, than he that standeth upon a plain and easy ground; either at length, as a man would say, such as bear rule be no men. And yet eftsoons they be so hauwtiff[6] with power, riches, and unpunishment, insomuch that they do not remember themselves to be men, but would be seen to be certain gods, to whom all things might be lawful, which misuseth men as beasts. For from whence errors? from

The reproved cannot choose but err.

[5 Lighter: easier.] [6 Hauwtiff: haughty.]

whence vices? from whence corruptions have crepen into the people, but from such, which when they ought to govern others in the true worship of God, in sincere doctrine, faith, charity, and pureness of living, they replenish all things with superstition, ignorance, misbelief, cruelty, and naughtiness, and draw the miserable people to follow them? What should the people else do? they look up upon them, from an inferior place, as gods: whatsoever they shall do, say, or will, not pondering what manner of thing it is, but because it is done by them, they reckon it commendable. Do there want examples of these things? Certes, there be more than may be remembered, more often in use than may be observed, more evident than it may seem possible to declare with tongue.

But let us return unto that church in the which such as bear rule cannot err. First, I ask whether they be men or no? If they be men, as they be indeed, then they may err, and shamefully be deceived. Moreover, again I demand, sith that they be chosen out of the number of men, and from that fish-pot or net in the which both good and naughty fishes be contained, of what sort would they these half gods to be? for it is not to be doubted in any wise but out of both sorts they may be taken: for those damnable and reproved persons, seeking their own advantages, ofttimes appear better than the other; and the good men, because they do not regard thilk things, they apply not themselves thereto, they get nought, they covet nothing, they seek after nothing, bearing themselves assayed[1] with their own stock and condition. Therefore if it happen the greater part, or else specially thilk part unto whom all things be referred, to be of shrews; those if any man say cannot err, he may seem to all men to be mad, since that they cannot choose but err: and if they be of the other sort, we have already above shewn that those for a time may be entangled with

Aaron erred. error. Did not Aaron the high priest err, when he set before the Israelites a golden calf to be worshipped? Whether hath

Peter erred. not Peter the apostle erred, when he was reproved of Paul?

[Gal. ii. 11.] Why shall I make mention of the troublesome time of Eli, Jeremy, Simeon, and Christ? Why of the unhappy age of

[1 Assayed with their own stock: contented with their lot: "sua sorte contenti," *Lat.*]

Arius? in the which none had less wit, none waxed more mad, none were infected with greater errors, than the sovereign priests, than the doctors, than the ministers. Let histories be sought, let old records be read over, and then both great ensamples and also many more shall be found than I can remember. But Florebell denieth that the church doth err. By what reasons led? Because, quoth he, it is an unfitting thing for the clemency of God, if any man believe that he hath neglected the salvation of so great multitude of men; as by these thousand years hath been. What if that multitude of men were not the true church, but the false; not friend to Christ, but contrary; not of his elects, but of the rejects? What if by his divine purpose it was behoveful that same multitude to perish, such as were his notwithstanding being saved, which lay hidden among them? What if he have not regard[2] them? whether for that will Florebell accuse God of unnatural goodness, either inconstancy, or else injustice? Were not the churches founded and instituted at Egypt, Antioch, and Ephesus, being cities of Asia, of the apostles? Those same nevertheless, deceived by Mahomet, have gone from the true religion of Christ. What shall I say of Arabia, which so many years heard the godly voice and preachings of Paul? But yet that same not long after received so Mahomet, thilk false prophet and precursor of antichrist, and in such wise gave ear to him, that at this present day also it followeth his only dreams, errors and lies. Why then is it marvel, if as Mahomet hath possessed the orient and the west, semblably the pope hath drawn the whole occident, and some part of the north, from the most holiest religion of Christ, from the institutions of the apostles, which are contained in the divine scriptures, unto his pestiferous decrees and laws, and that under the pretence of christian and apostolical religion? Whether shall we say Christ to have altered his purpose? whether without a cause to have forsaken suddenly and despised those whom he had delivered from so huge superstitions? I trow, not; if we will speak and judge of God godly, holily, religiously, as it is meet: but rather that he hath complished his eternal counsels, and brought to effect and end the foresayings of his prophets. St Paul saith,

Egypt, Antioch, and Ephesus once Christians, and now Mahometans in Asia.

Arabia was of Christ.

[2] Not regard: not regarded: "neglexit," *Lat.*]

" Let no man deceive you; that day shall not come except a departing come first, and that wicked man be brought to light: I mean that adversary which is extolled above God, and above all that is worshipped, insomuch as he sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself to be God." Which dite[1] Paul seemeth to have taken out of the prophecies of Daniel; for with him both these and many more be read of thilk wicked wight. In whom sothly[2] might these be better applied, than in thilk same pope? Is not he cleped God upon the earth? Is not he reverenced as God? Whether hath not he ordained by decree, that kings reverently do fall down before him and kiss his foot? the which thing we never read Mahomet to have done,—lest peradventure any body may suppose that these be forespoken of him. Certes be not these causes evident enough, that in the testament of God they hath not stand[3]; [Jer. ii. 13.] as Jeremias witnesseth that they have forsaken God, the lively well? that they have despised the amiable verity, that they 2 Pet. ii. have wandered, leaving the right way, and followed the way of Bileam, which loved the unrightwise meed[4]; that by them the way of truth is slandered?—which through avarice with feigned words, in the temple of God, in the christian folk, and in that same church of the souls, they exercise and make a wicked and vicious market: which also reject the Lord that hath redeemed them, while they have imagined, taught, confirmed, and do confirm other ways of salvation beside him that is " the way, the truth, and the life" particular and alone: which although they confess Christ by mouth only, yet in their doings they deny him. Whether be not these sufficient causes enough, by the which God moved, he hath struck them with a long blindness? May there any other grievouser be looked for, that like as Africke bringeth forth some new monster always (as it is reported), so they might induce to light new monstrous vices and errors?

But in good sooth these be the causes which as well the prophets of God, as the apostles of Jesu Christ, do record of.

[1] Dite: saying; probably from Latin *dictum*: "locum," *Lat.*]
[2] Sothly: truly; from the Saxon 'sothe', truth.]
[3] They have not been stedfast in God's covenant.]
[4] The unrightwise meed: the reward, or, "wages of unrighteousness."]

Paul verily maketh an end of that place I rehearsed before, in this wise speaking of antichrist: "Do ye not remember that, when I was as yet present with you, I said these things to you? And now what withholdeth, ye know, that he may be revealed in his time; for now he goeth about to blow up the mystery of iniquity, until he be taken from the midst of you, which now doth let: and then shall appear thilk wicked man, whom the Lord with the spirit of his mouth shall destroy, and with the light and brightness of his coming shall confound. But the coming of that wicked and pestiferous person is apparailed by the instigation and working of the devil, with all power, signs, and deceivable miracles, and with all treachery of injustice unto such as perish, for that they embraced not the truth, which is to be loved, that they might be saved. Therefore God shall send to them an illusion of very great force, so that they may credit lies and incur calamity, all such as hath not yielded to the verity, but hath allowed unrightwiseness and falsehood." These things then and semblable when they come to pass, God his self is not changed, (as thou trowest, Florebell), which seeth all these before; but thilk wretched men be changed. The which when we say to have been done, or to be doing, we turn not God himself, and feign him to be another person; of a just unjust, of constant wavering, of benign cruel; as thou falsely objectest: but otherwise and[5] ye suppose, in all these things we do confess him to be highly just, and most constant, and most bountiful, neither that he neglecteth the salvation of his church at any time, nor to alter daily his purposes; that he which is sovereign God envieth no wight. Hereto, in a clear voice with the whole scripture we assent. And whether God loveth that one more than that other, the which thou deniest, the holy scriptures of both testaments do affirm. Whether loveth not God all that be right in heart, and contrariwise hateth all workers of iniquity? Is it not written in Malachi, recited by Paul, God himself thus to have spoken, "I have loved Jacob, but I hate Esau"? "What then shall we say?" Paul inferreth: "whether shall we accuse God of unrighteousness? No: for I will be merciful (saith he to Moses) upon whomsoever I take mercy, and I will shew pity upon

[2 Thess. ii. 5—12.]

They that will not believe the verity fall into idolatry.

[Mal. i. 2, 3. Rom. ix. 13—15.]

[5 And: than.]

whom I do extend pity:" as who would say, there is no cause why thou mayest accuse me; for whatsoever pleaseth me, that cannot be dissevered from justice, sith that I am sovereign just. And therefore Paul reprehendeth, a little after, man's temerity, which dare speak in that wise; for verily so it is, that God turneth all things by his beck and will. "Why then doth he complain? Why accuseth he and reproveth folk?" But what answereth hereto Paul? "O man, what art thou that reasonest thus against God? Whether shall the pot say to the pot-maker, Why hast thou made me after this fashion? Hath not the pot-maker power to form out of that same clam of earth that one vessel for an honourable use, and that other for contemptuous and vilenous?"

Thus speaketh Paul, which sith they be clear and open, let us proceed unto another treate[1] of Florebell's. "What is it," quoth he, "why, sith that we ought to believe the gospels without any doubt, egall[2] credence might not be taken to the church?" This, after he hath put forth, he assayeth to establish by certain arguments, which I will recite in order, to the end that, if any thing be naught in them, it may be reproved and refelled. First, in many words he saith this, that I in few will expound. For if thou demand of him for what cause in the same place, or else in like authority, the church is to be esteemed, in the which the gospel is deemed; he answereth, "because from the church we have received the gospel, where Christ his self left nothing at all in writing." What sayest thou, Florebell? for that from the church we have received the gospel, sayest thou her to be of equal authority with the gospel? But tell me, I pray thee, that we may the sooner come to the chief point of our question. Of whom received the church the gospel? Whether not of the apostles and the Lord's disciples? But were not they that same church, or else the better part of the church? That cannot be denied. Then again I will ask, from whence thilk church of the apostles and disciples received it? I know thou wilt not again go[3], that thilk have received it from the heavenly Master Jesus Christ. Then we have not received the gospel from the church, but from Jesus Christ the Son of God: so that we believe the

A common question is here decided, whether the church receiveth the gospel authority, either the gospel of the church.

[1] Treate: point *treated of*.] [2] Egall: equal.]
[3] Again go: go against, contradict.]

gospel, not for the church, but for Christ's sake we do it; which, sith he is God and the self verity, he may lie by no means.

"But Christ," quoth he, "wrawght[4] not the gospels, neither commanded they should be written of others." That hath chanced to Florebell in a naughty and trifling accusation, that same happeneth to me in a very good cause: he did not find how he might confirm a counterfeited matter; I cannot find by what reason I might disannul and confute things of so small importance. Christ (quoth he) hath written nothing, for he hath indited his precepts and ordinances in the souls of men (as it was prophesied before of Jeremiah), and hath not graven them in books or tables. I hear thee well; but this signifieth nothing else, than that Christ is minister of the Spirit, who being author, such as belong to his kingdom believeth his doctrine, whether it be by the word or writing delivered. Therefore with his own finger, that is, with his Spirit and virtue, Christ writeth in the hearts of men, as often as he causeth that they give credence to his words. But what maketh this to the purpose? Whether for that be those things of less verity, which have been written of the evangelists and apostles? Have not both kings and senators and other princes servants that be their secretaries, by whose industry and[5] private and public matters be put in writing? Semblably Christ, King of kings and Prince of all princes, hath had most faithful and most holiest scribes, that hath written all things very sincerely and clearly, which should be necessary for our salvation.

Whether Christ writ or bid his gospel to be written.

[Jer. xxxi. 33.]

But Florebell will say, that Christ commanded not that those should be written, but that in preaching and teaching should be published throughout the whole world: whereby he willeth to be concluded, that the authority of the church in teaching and preaching is equal with the gospel. Certes these sayings seem to our adversaries marvellous: but if any man will behold them a little nigher, he shall find them not only void of all reason, but also ungodly. For, first of all, they do not take heed; or else, if they take heed, they be guilty of sacrilege, which they may purge with no Ave Maria. Sith that they deny that Christ commanded his doctrine to be written, they do accuse the most holy disciples of the

[4 Wrawght: wrote.] [5 And: both: "et privata et publica," *Lat.*]

Lord highly of impiety; for if they did otherwise than Christ bid them, (which must needs be, if they being only commanded to teach by mouth, have taught also by writings,) then they have not been neither faithful ambassadors, nor disciples of their Lord and Master, but caitiffs, and disobedient, and to be accused of treason and sacrilege. Soothly saith that high Master, "Ye shall be my disciples, if ye shall do thilk things I command you." Certes, that the Lord commanded them for to write, yea by that it may well be proved, that they have written; the which thing they had in no wise done, in case the Lord had not bid them; albeit of that commandment there were no thing recorded in writing. But whether commanded he not them to write, when he bid them
Matt. xxviii. to teach? "Teach ye (he saith) all people;" and a little after, "Teach them to observe all things I have commanded you." He teacheth, which either by mouth or writing setteth forth any doctrine; for word of teaching containeth all manner of learning to be shewn; yea, children in the grammar schools know it. For as speech is the interpreter of the mind, so be writings the interpreters of speech, as right hath taught Aristotle. For he that bid teach, thilk same also commanded to write: for in teaching, that is, in writing, to teach is included. And that is hereby more probable, because the apostles could not go to all nations, and by mouth instruct them. Why is it in the Apocalypse, the Lord his self now endued with immortality, and set at the right hand of the Father, bid John, the apostle and evangelist, to write and put in records the doctrine of all times, and that appertaineth unto all churches? "I am," quoth he, "Alpha and Omega, first and last. That thou seest write, and send to the seven churches which be in Asia." For he that bid this man for to write, also commanded his other fellows of the same number; lest, when they should depart from hence, of the church (as a man would say) the rule might want[1]: by the which both spirits and strange doctrines clearly should be judged, whether they did accord with that same divine line and rule. If that these holy books by and by after Christ his ascension into heaven were not written, verily it was not needful, sith as yet there were no churches constituted, beside

[1 A rule might be wanting to the church.]

that which heard the voice both of Christ and his disciples; and the questions of religion might be referred unto the apostles, as unto the lively law of the Lord: but such things as afterwards were prescribed, those were not alone committed to them, that at thilk season lived, but unto all their posterity.

But for what purpose is this added of Florebell, when he saith, that certes neither by the common counsel and assent of the apostles these holy books were written and made? Whether requireth Florebell man's counsel and authority in setting forth the celestial doctrine? Doth he require the consent and judgment of any general council? Doth he not think the counsel and divine sentence of Jesus Christ to be sufficient?—for upon that all the Lord's apostles and disciples did agree; and the Holy Ghost made all them fellows and associates of one counsel: this they had before their eyes; they judged one manner of thing. Whether knoweth not Florebell that which was written of a famous apostle? For he saith, "Not by the will of man whilom[2] the gift of prophecy was brought forth, but through the inspiration of the Holy Ghost holy men spake of God." Therefore the counsel of the apostles was one; their mind and sentence was all one; albeit divers of them have written and taught in divers times and places. What's that same may be said of their preaching[3], which our adversary speaketh of the writings of the apostles: for of truth we read it not in any place, that with one common counsel and assent they have preached. If that for this cause their books have less authority, verily their preaching shall in no better stead be accounted. But, as I have said, those things were sufficiently done with one general assent, the which they did being inspired with one self Spirit. 2 Pet. i.

Over[4] this, we deny not, that men ought to attribute so much faith and authority to the church, as to any other man bringing the gospel of Christ, how much we give to writings and letters signed by the same gospel. For what skilleth[5] it me, if that which by word is taught, or else again be written,

[2] Whilom: "in old time."]

[3] What is it? that same may be said, &c.: "quid? quod idem de prædicatione dici posset, &c," *Lat.*]

[4] Over this: beside this.]

[5] What skilleth it: what matter is it to me.]

be one thing in all points with that, which in times past was openly preached and now registered in books? But we deny that it may be brought to thilk purpose, other than by those arguments [thou] hast respect[1]; for thou wouldest by this that the church for a certain time were without books, the gospels (as thou sayest) being openly set forth; that it hath so much authority, that it may as well as the gospel establish certain other things, among those which be needful unto salvation. But it is not so. For neither the apostles nor the church (when as yet there were no books made) taught either ordained any thing else, than afterward within a while was put in writing. The which may be evident and open by the most holiest history of Luke, in the which he describeth the acts and certain sermons of the apostles. Wherefore if, when as yet no books were published, the church did enact or teach nought concerning our salvation, than that afterward was written by the same; neither then, the books being set forth, any assent of the church may either prescribe or teach any thing, as though it were necessary unto salvation. But if the church will be reckoned christian and apostolical, it betideth that both it ensue the steps and doctrine of Christ and his apostles, neither that it decline unto the right or left hand. Otherwise it is not the church of Christ or spouse, but the congregation of antichrist, and to be called the whore of the devil; for the gospel hath not his being out of the church, but the church out of the gospel: for the word of God was before man; and by the word all things were created, and by that same word repaired, by the which also they be governed.

The church hath none authority to establish things necessary to salvation beside the scripture.

The gospel hath not his being of the church, but the church of the gospel.

I come now unto that other argument, whereby (as it seemeth) Florebell would confirm thilk high authority of the church to be equal with the gospel, or rather greater. Sith of wicked persons (quoth he) the gospel might have been corrupted, we cannot be assured by another guises[2], that it is not defouled, than by the testimony and authority of the church. Here first we deny, that the gospel, or else any part of scripture, may be corrupted: moreover, that they have

[1] But we deny that it is possible to arrive at that conclusion to which, by arguments of that sort, you have an eye: "sed negamus eo perveniri posse, quò tu ejuscemodi spectas argumentis," *Lat.*]

[2] By another guises: in any other manner: "aliunde," *Lat.*]

not been corrupted or defaced, divine books, we believe and know, not through the testimony of the church, but of the holy and heavenly Ghost. For who may say that God forletteth[3] his church right, so that he may permit those things to be defouled or decay, without the which it may not consist? Who again knoweth not, that divine learning and scripture is so needful, that without the same neither ignorant folk may be instructed, nor disobedient person reproved, nor wandering wights corrected, either led again into the way? "All scripture, (saith Paul,) having his inspiration from God, is profitable for to teach, for to refel, for to correct, and for to instruct unto justice, that a man of God may be perfect, and apt, and ready unto all holy working." But what uncertainty should there be of religion, and what confusion, if those holy books might be defouled, if we might stand in doubt of their purity and sykerness[4]! It were better a great deal that we had no books, than such as might be deemed to be spotted with felonous errors. What truly were that divine providence, if his prophecies, his holy laws, his promises and testimonies, by the which together churches be made and governed, should suffer to be corrupted and intermeddled with the wicked opinions of men? Who ever heard that done sith men were born? The law which God gave to Moses and to the people of Israel, and the residue of the old testament, neither sublety of ungodly men, nor will, nor power, at any season either was able to take away, or to alter, or else by any means to destroy it: shall we believe that the gospel, either the scripture of the new testament and covenant, that is the virtue and power of God openly declared for the salvation of all them that be faithful, might decay by any wise? Either shall we suppose God to be vigilant and intentive about small matters, and to slack and wink at things of most weight? The continual hatred of the Jews towards Christians is well known: nathless we have thilk scripture uncorrupted, and in no point diminished or augmented, of the old testament, out of the which it is right surely and clearly proved, that the very Messias is already come; not for because there wanted will, perchance, to them to corrupt it, but that the divine providence hath fore-

The necessary use of divine service.

The scripture may by no means decay.

[Rom. i. 16.]

[3] Forletteth: abandons.]

[4] Sykernes, or sikerness: entireness: "integritate," *Lat.*]

lette[1] so great a felony, to the end that the testimonies of Christ should remain for ever right certain: by the which the minds of good men might be refreshed, and the false opinions of the ungodly be confuted. Also the like reason is to be made of the new testament, whose records God, which is right best and mightiest, willeth to survive whole and inviolate until the consummation of this world, that the knots of all false religions by them may be dissolved. In the which thing whether is not that a great token of God his providence, willing to conserve his scripture uncorrupted? the which doth moderate the minds of wicked folk so, that they do keep for us the holy scriptures, because by those they believe that they may prove and confirm their errors; and whiles they think so with themselves, they be enforced not to corrupt, but to conserve the holy books: that which I trow hath happened both to the Jews and papists, which while they judge the scripture to favour their pernicious errors, they maintain it sound and undefiled. Not therefore we believe them undoubtedly[2], for that we credit the testimony of the church; but partly, that the Spirit of God teaching every one of us, and testifying inwardly to us, we know to be the words of God; partly also, that we believe the providence and governance of God, which they believe not that suppose the needful scriptures unto salvation may be decayed and changed into error. Certes, Christ his self hath witnessed that the scripture shall continue whole unto the world's end, when he said, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, until the heaven and earth do pass, one iota or tittle shall not fall from the law, until that all things shall be accomplished." Certes, Peter the apostle confesseth truly that the scriptures may be overstrained by false understanding, that is, may be misunderstanded; but that they may be corrupted either by adding or taking away, or else by changing, neither he, nor any other writer of holy scripture, hath thought it possible. Of truth, God forbid that nothing should be augmented in his words, nor taken away! but the same hath respect hitherto, that men might know not to be lawful for them, which peradventure they would otherelse [have] supposed, except he had forbidden it, that if at any time they have in thought for to corrupt

The scripture cannot be corrupted.

[1] Forelette, (in this place), means, *let, hindered.*]

[2] We do not therefore believe them undoubtedly, &c.]

them, or do haste to deprave them, albeit they be never able to bring it about, let them understand that they do grievously trespass, and sorely shall sustain punishment therefore.

The dite of Austin, how it ought to be understanded.

Wherefore it is of none effect that they object us Austin, saying, "I would not believe the gospel, except the authority of the church moved me thereto;" sith also they do that too oft, and all they seem to be brought down hither for lack of good arguments; for what do they think to be able to conclude thereby? whether that we should believe the authority of the church of Rome, that is, of the pope and his cardinals, to be equal with the gospel, or else greater? But certes Austin did not as much as think that, which named neither the church of Rome or Afric, but the catholic church, which is universal; for verily the catholic church is (as our adversary a little before hath described it) the universal congregation of men worshipping God in a right faith. But they worship him in a right faith, which follow the word of God in worshipping him, and not the traditions of men. For Paul speaketh elegantly, "Faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." Therefore Austin, in receiving the gospel, followed not the authority of every church, either multitude; but of the catholic, holy, and of thilk church which brought the sincere word of God. It is therefore nothing that ye lay against us, to excite us to believe you in all points, to ensue your authority, to embrace by thilk authority your doctrine for the gospel; sith that ye neither do worship God with a right faith, neither do allege the pure word of God as the gospel, neither be the catholic church.

But that the saying of Austin might better be perceived, the cause thereof is a little more to be weighed and recited. The Manicheans[3] went earnestly about, as you also do, that their doctrine might be allowed as apostolical,

[3] The Manichees (so called from Manes their founder) in common with the heathen philosophers held the Deity to be material. But their distinctive tenet was the doctrine of two independent principles, a good and an evil one. Pressed, as men in all ages have been, with the difficulty of the question of the origin of evil, they resorted to that mistaken solution of it. The rise of Manicheism in Persia was about the year 274: it flourished especially in north Africa under Faustus, against whom Augustine wrote at the end of the fourth century. After various severe edicts published against this sect, (particularly under Valentinian III., A.D. 445,) it subsisted until the year 602, and then disappeared.]

whom Austin resisted in certain books. And in the book which he argueth against the epistle of Manicheus, that men hyght[1] *Of fundaments*, he writeth in this wise[2]: "If that I should find any wight, which as yet believeth not the gospel, what wouldest thou do to him saying, I believe thee not? Certes, I myself would not believe the gospel, in case the authority of the catholic church did not excite me thereto. Then whom I have obeyed in saying, 'Believe the gospel,' why shall I not obey them saying, 'Nill thou credit Manicheus?' Choose what thou list. If thou wilt say, 'Believe catholic folk,' they admonish me that I neither give any fiance to thee. Wherefore I cannot choose, believing them, but miscredit thee. If thou shalt say, 'Nill thou believe the catholic,' thou shalt not do well by the gospel to constrain me unto the faith of Manicheus, for that I believed the gospel through the preaching of catholic folk. But if thou wilt say, 'Thou believedst aright the catholic praising the gospel, but thou hast not aright believed them reproving Manicheus;' dost thou judge me so very a dolt, that, without any reason yielded, I should believe as thou wilt, and that thou wilt not, I shall not believe? But God forbid that I should not believe the gospel! for believing it, I cannot find also how I may believe thee; for the names of the apostles which [be] there read, do not contain the name of Manicheus among them." And in thilk book in another place he saith: "They be so invincible which be brought forth out of the divine book against you, that ye have

[1] Hyght: call: "quam vocant Fundamenti," *Lat.*]

[2] Si ergo invenires aliquem qui evangelio nondum credit, quid faceres dicenti tibi, Non credo? Ego vero evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicæ ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas. Quibus ergo obtemperavi dicentibus, Credite evangelio, cur eis non obtemperem dicentibus mihi, Noli credere Manichæo? Elige quod velis. Si dixeris, Crede catholicis; ipsi me monent ut nullam fidem accommodem vobis. Quapropter non possum, illis credens, nisi tibi non credere. Si dixeris, Noli catholicis credere; non recte facies per evangelium me cogere ad Manichæi fidem, quia ipsi evangelio catholicis prædicantibus credidi. Si autem dixeris, Recte credidisti laudantibus evangelium, sed non recte illis credidisti vituperantibus Manichæum: usque adeo me stultum putas, ut nulla reddita ratione, quod vis credam, quod non vis non credam? ..... Sed absit ut ego evangelio non credam. Illi enim credens, non invenio quomodo possim etiam tibi credere: Apostolorum enim nomina quæ ibi leguntur non inter se continent nomen Manichæi. August. Op. Par. 1837, tom. VIII. contr. Epist. Manichæi Fund. Lib. I. c. V. col. 270.]

nought else to say than that those be depraved. What authority of learning may be found, what holy book looked over, what document of any manner of scripture might be known to convince errors, if this saying be admitted or esteemed of any weight[3]?" Hitherto Austin; by the which words it is manifest that not to be the sense of thilk saying which thou deniest, for Manicheus hasted (as I have said) that men should believe him. To whom Austin answereth: 'Why shall I believe thee bringing a new doctrine, which allegeth nought why thou oughtest to be believed? For let any wight come that as yet believeth not the gospel, and he refuseth to credit thee; what mayest thou say? By what reason willest thou prove thy doctrine to him? Verily there is one good reason,—if thou can shew this thy doctrine to be one with that the catholic church teacheth, the which doctrine truly flowed from Christ into his apostles, and from them into the universal and holy church: for as touching my own self, how should I have believed the gospel, that was not conversant neither with Christ his self, neither with his apostles and disciples, unless by the church that now is teaching and admonishing me, that I should credit the gospel? had I believed else? For "how shall they believe that whereof they have not heard? as the apostle saith. But how shall they hear without a preacher? For faith is by hearing;" by hearing verily not of every man's word, but of God's. If so thou can not prove that, and it is plain thy gospel to be divers from the same was delivered by Christ, and at this present the church doth teach; there is no cause why thou mayest suppose us to believe thee hereafter, which would not give any credence neither to Paul his self, the right true legate of Christ, neither certes to an angel of heaven bringing any other gospel, than that once hath been received.' This to be the mind and sentence of Austin, those words do prove in which he saith, "I have been obedient to them saying, Believe ye the gospel;" and these, "I have believed that same gospel at the preaching of catholic persons."

Who here seeth not that Austin spake of thilk authority

[3 Usque adeo invicta sunt, quæ adversus vos de divinis codicibus proferuntur, ut non sit aliud quod dicatis, nisi eos esse falsatos. Quæ jam auctoritas literarum aperiri, quis sacer liber evolvi, quod documentum cujuslibet scripturæ ad convincendos errores vestros exseri potest, si hæc vox admittitur, si alicujus ponderis æstimatur? August. Op. Par. 1837, tom. VIII. contr. Faust. Manich. Lib. XI. c. ii. col. 363.]

of the church which it hath through this, that it bringeth and teacheth the gospel? For besides that the church hath none authority; and with that it hath most sovereign power: for neither the gospel nor Christ may be separated from the church, either the church from the gospel. Albeit, not the gospel of the church, but the church of the gospel, receiveth authority: for as we receive ambassadors, not because they come, but for that they be sent from their prince; semblably, such shepherds be to be allowed in the church, which be sent of Christ. And as ambassadors do confirm their embassy through letters, commandment, and tokens of their princes, otherelse they be rejected and have none authority; so also those must be put back and not regarded, which when they say themselves to be messengers and pastors of Christ, yet they bring not the writings of Christ, but the imaginations and leasings of antichrist. To whom with thilk words we may answer, that Austin spake to the Manichees: for these our new Manicheans neither have the faith of the catholic church, either bring or teach the doctrine; algates they boast out the apostolical titles, and that they have been in counsel of the immortal gods, and from thence to be sent unto the city of Rome, as keepers of the church, judges, and right sovereign bishops, which do arete[1] the arms of the church and of the whole world unto their proper glory; as though Christ were no where, his Spirit were no where, the gospel no where: yea, else as though there were no where men[2] which,—as Austin hath withstanded the Manicheans[3], a man both in cunning and pureness of life famous,—even in like sort dare to resist them strongly.

By that foresaid reason as Austin confounded the Manicheans, by thilk he confoundeth at the papists' arguments.

If then thou shouldest find any one which as yet did not believe the gospel, what wouldest thou do to him saying, 'I believe thee not?' I certes would not believe the gospel, in case the authority of the church moved me nought. To whom therefore I have been obedient, saying, 'Believe ye the gospel;' why should I not obey them telling me, 'Believe not the pope?' Choose whether thou wilt. For if thou shalt say to me, 'Believe catholic folk;' they admonish me that I ne apply[4] any

[1 Arete: impute, reckon. Arms: qu. *harms?* the Latin being "Ecclesiæ; atque orbis totius *incommoda* in gloriam suam ponunt," *Lat.*]

[2 As though there were no where else men, &c.]

[3 (Ut dixi), *Lat.*] [4 That I do not apply.]

faith to you: wherefore I can not otherwise do in believing them, but miscredit thee. If thou wilt say, 'Believe not the catholics;' thou shalt not do right by the gospel to compel me unto the faith of the pope, for because I have believed at the catholics' preaching thilk very gospel. But if thou shalt say, 'Thou believedst aright the catholics praising the gospel, but thou hast not rightwisely believed those same despising the pope;' weenest thou me to be so very a fool, that without any reason declared I should believe as thou wouldest, and not believe that thou nillest? But God forelet it, that I should not believe the gospel! for believing that, I cannot find how I might believe the pope; for the names of the apostles which be read there, do in no place include the name of a pope, either of cardinals. If that ye say, therefore credit is to be taken unto you, for that the holy volumes might have been corrupted; why then believe ye not us, which do affirm that [they] be not only not corrupted, but also that it is not possible that they may be corrupted? But those things are so undisconfitable[5] that against you out of the divine books be gathered, that for want of good arguments you come unto these wicked and felonous words. For why (saith our adversary) do thilk same people give credit wholly unto the narration of those matters written by the four evangelists, upon causes so unlooked for, so marvellous, not only passing the outward senses of men, but also the power of man's understanding and thought; which do refuse to believe the universal church? Why may they not as well conjecture some thing falsely to be set forth by them, either wrested, diminished, or changed, after so many years? And divers other like things which Florebell heapeth up in this place more copiously and eloquently, than religiously and truly; to the which yet he should have added this: What if now the sky fall? The which if it might be admitted, if it might be esteemed of any weight; what authority of learning might be found, what holy book may be perused, what kind of writing might be brought forth, for to confound errors? for the rule being lost or made crooked, by the which all things might be made straight, there is nothing then whereby just things from unjust, false from true, man's inventions from God's constitutions, might be tried: and, as I may use the

An objection.

A solution.

[5 Undisconfitable: not to be overthrown.]

dite[1] of God and our Master, "If salt be made unsavoury, what can be salted therewith?"

But grieveth[2] Florebell that we believe four, either six, apostles or writers of the gospel, rather than five hundred papists. If that he demand the reason why we so do, I will gladly satisfy his mind. First and foremost, for because such as have written these things, were most true witnesses and chosen of the Lord, either by his apostles, unto that action. Furthermore, for this[3] we know surely those things, as they have written, to have come unto us sound and uncorrupt by the testimony of thilk Spirit wherewith those were written; and that this was wrawght to the end that the unbowable, most certain, and most straightest rule should always survive; by the which of your errors, and of others like to you, the true catholic and holy church may judge; by the which rule eke, and not by the opinions of men, those books were rejected and reproved, which thou sayest in times past to have been rejected and condemned, because those seemed not to accord unto this rule of holy scripture. But as those men lay again us Austin, which yet hath been shewn to make more with us than for them, thilk same we will object to them, ameussing[4] their faith and authority, not with obscure or doubtful speaking: for so hath he left in writing, in the controversy which was between him and Jerome, of the simulation of Peter the apostle, where he confirmeth that no suspicion of leasing ought to be received in the divine writ. "I do confess (saith he) to thy charity, I have learned to attribute this reverence and honour unto those only books of scripture which now be cleped canonical, that I believe right stedfastly none of the authors of them to have erred in writing. Perde I read all other in this manner, that be they never so holy and clerk-like, I do not therefore think it true because those have judged so, but because they may persuade me either by thilk canonical authors, or else by probable reason, that it is not dissonant from the truth. Neither I trow thee, my brother, to discern

How the doctors and writers of the church ought to be read and taken.

[1 "Scito," *Lat.*]

[2 It grieveth: "dolet," *Lat.*]

[3 For this: because: "quia," *Lat.*]

[4 This word in the MS. is unintelligible. The Latin is "elevantem," *disparaging.* It is probably meant to be *amenusing,* a word used by Chaucer in that sense.]

otherwise. I say, I suppose throughly, that thou wilt not thy books to be read after that condition, as the works of the prophets and apostles, of whose writings, because they be void of all error, it is outrage to doubt[5]." Therefore all the papists may grudge as much as them list, and as serpents wryste themselves after a thousand fashions. We will use the authority of Austin in reading their books and hearing their doctrine, that, be they never so holy or so well learned, not for that we will think any thing true, because they have judged thus; but if they can do us to understand it by those holy writers, or else by probable reason which swerveth nothing from the truth.

But here Florebell putteth this too: If any persons should reject and contemn all those books, or else some of them, men had nothing that they might lay against them besides the consent and testimony of the catholic church. Here our adversary maketh no leasing; he speaketh the thing that was done, and which also at this day is attempted of many. But that he reckoneth us to have nought which we may allege again such as deny the divine scripture, besides the consent and testimony of the church, he is greatly, in my opinion, deceived. For, first, if any wight allow some part of the divine volumes, and disannul the other, he shall be confuted by those which he alloweth and approveth: for every where the divine scripture is agreeable to herself, neither in any place the same discordeth within herself, because it is the voice of one God, and sealed up in writing by the inspiration of one manner of Spirit. For if any man shall divide Moses from the prophets, and if any prophet shall be separate from Moses, as Christ

The scripture agreeth with herself, neither disagreeth not.

[5 Ego enim fateor caritati tuæ, solis eis scripturarum libris, qui jam canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam. [Ac si aliquid in eis offendero literis quod videatur contrarium veritati, nihil aliud quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse non ambigam.] Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt; sed quia mihi vel per illos auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod a vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt. Nec te, mi frater, sentire aliquid aliter existimo: prorsus, inquam, non te arbitror sic legi tuos libros velle, tanquam prophetarum vel apostolorum; de quorum scriptis, quod omni errore careant, dubitare nefarium est. Augustin. Op. Epist. Lib. ad Hieron. XIX. tom. II. col. 285. Paris. 1836.]

reproveth the Sadducees, neglecting the sayings of the prophets, and receiving Moses alone; indeed, whosoever setteth aside the old testament, the authority of the new testament shall vanquish him: and, contrariwise, he that despiseth the new, may be confuted through the old. The like also is to be understanded, if any wight should not regard the book of the new testament, either any part thereof: for whatsoever part he will allow, that shall be sufficient for to confound him. But if any will despise the universal scripture of the divine prophecies, he shall not be worthy of any credit: with such an one we will not much strive, but leave him to God's judgment. "If any body (saith John, the cousin by lineage of Christ,) come unto you, and bringeth not this doctrine, receive not him into your house, nor bid him God speed." So also Christ himself commanded those to be forsaken, that would not receive the apostles and their doctrine. And Paul saith, "If any wight loveth not the Lord Jesus Christ, let men turn and flee from him, as from a fervent pestilence and pernicious."

Why, is Florebell ignorant of the common saw, which is in every man's mouth? With such as deny principles men ought no longer to dispute; for the divine scriptures be principles of all thilk things which be written and taught of God and his religion: which principles and, as it were, fundaments of divine matters whosoever neglecteth, he either is to be forsaken, if there be no hope of amendment in him; or else, if there be any, he must be confuted, not with the texts of scripture, which he thinketh vain, verily feigned and counterfeited; but with arguments and reason, the which some of our fathers heretofore have done. For when a cause is in hand against a man that is ignorant of the truth, enlarging somewhat the prophecies and divine testimonies, we may form this man anew, as it were a beginner; and shew him by little and little the beams of light, as a man would say, upon the earth or in the water; lest, all the light being set before him, he may blind[1]: for as a child cannot bear the strength of whole and strong meats through the weakness of his stomach, but is nourished with the liquor of milk and pap, until, after more strength gathered, he be able to eat harder meats; semblably, unto thilk man it is behoveful, because as yet he cannot receive godly tes-

[1 Blind: be blinded: "caliget," *Lat.*]

timonies, first to offer man's persuasions, that is, of philosophers, poets, and historiographers, that by their authorities chiefly he may be reproved; that when it is done, then such things as be recited out of the holy scriptures may appear neither new nor hard. What, if that the reason and causes be required of him which rejecteth all the holy books, or some of them? For what may men allege why they believe Thucydides, Xenophon, Strabo, Livy, Sallust, or Pliny; and do not give credence to Matthew, either John, or Luke, Paul, or Peter? Other[2], that is better, what might they say, why rather they believe silly men, that also ofttimes be shrews, than God himself, as touching their salvation? Except that as Nasica is read to have objected unto Ennius, they think we ought rather to believe his handmaids and servants, than the Lord himself testifying of himself.

By these now I trow, Florebell, thou seest us to have other things, which thou hadst little thought, that we may allege and answer to them which would reject the holy writ, without the testimony and agreement of the church. And where ye be so earnest and importune upon us with the testimony and consent of the church, may not we as lightly, or else more easily, disallow this testimony or consent, as the prophecies of God his self and the divine scriptures? For what if any man should answer thus to your objecting the consent of the church: If I had mind to comprehend these things, certes I would sooner give affiance to those which do witness themselves to have received these matters from that same very God either from Christ, than to you that might infer no such thing: if a man should thus say, what shall ye further lay against him? I think fire or a sword: otherelse ye will stop his mouth with water; for these be both your arguments and reasons by the which ye are wont to make proof of your authority, and by whom ye defend the authority of the church: this is your godliness; this is your faith; this is your religion.

But Florebell will persuade us, the holy scripture to be allowed through the testimony of men, and to be established by the consent of the church, and with authority of the same to be corroborated. Verily, as who would say, either

[2 Other: or: "vel," *Lat.*]

the greater is wont to receive authority of the lesser; or, God taketh witness of man, or else needeth his approbation. O outrageous and importable[1] arrogancy of men! O unshamefacedness! O impiety! They will us to believe the wife to be above her husband. But the contrary Paul saith, "You wives, be obedient unto your own husbands, as to the Lord; for that man is the head of the woman, semblably as Christ is the head of the church: and it is thilk same which giveth health unto the body. Therefore like as the church is obedient to Christ, even so ye wives be subject in all things to your own husbands." Christ denieth that he receiveth testimony of men; but these folk judge his words to have none authority, except those be fortified with the depositions of men. John verily in his first epistle reasoneth thus: "If we allow the testimony of men, the testimony of God is greater; for this is the testimony of God with which he hath testified of his Son. He that believeth in the Son of God hath testimony in his own self. He that doth not believe upon God maketh him a liar, because he believeth not the testimony which God hath testified of his own Son." Indeed, Christ bid his apostles to be witnesses for him: not that he might receive authority from them, (for what authority shall the servant procure to the lord, either an ambassador to his prince, from whom thilk same taken authority?) but that by them it may be perceived how great is the power, authority, majesty, wisdom and goodness of God and Christ, which saith, "He that heareth you (teaching truly those things which I have commanded) heareth me." Paul witnessed that the Thessalonians, which received his preachings, to have received not the word of man, but verily the word of God. For he that doubteth of faith and of the authority of divine scriptures, how will he credit the church, which hath none authority besides thilk same scripture? They take the sun out of the world, which endeavour to violate and diminish the sacred authority of holy writ. That they certes do, which make it subject to the authority and judgment of men; which is as much as if a man should say the moon to participate light to the sun, which is beginner of light, that[2] the moon, being of her own self dark,

Christ requireth not the testimony of man for the probation of his gospel.

[1] Importable: intolerable.] [2] That: which (light).]

borroweth of the sun. For like as the sun is not therefore clear and bright because men judge, him such and confess, but that he is such, men that behold him and perceive his strength be enforced to judge and confess him to be such a one; if that any wight would say him to be darkish and not warm, men would as soon believe him as Anaxagoras, which feigned the snow to be black[3]; in the which thing blind men might be deceived, but such as have their clear sight may not: semblably the writings and divine scriptures be not therefore true and certain, because the church hath determined them true and certain; but for that they be of God, whose majesty and authority they pretend and set forth; and not only men (a few always excepted), but eke those noxious spirits, necessarily must confess them to be certain, sure and true: for as no man can add light unto the sun, so none neither mortal nor immortal may procure out authority for the divine writings: for excellently well speaketh David, that high prophet, "The testimony of the Lord is true, constant, sure, pure, enlightening man's eyes, and of his own nature and strength firm and approved." Item, in another place he saith "the word of the Lord to be a lantern to his feet and light to his goings." And Peter also calleth the divine word which is contained in the most holy wrytes, "a lantern shining in a dark place," upon the which he exhorteth us to direct our eyes, until that we come unto thilk celestial light.

Anaxagoras.

Man cannot give authority to scripture.

But let Florebell look about how he may defend this opinion. Certes it is manifest among all, those fathers which for their learning and good living are renowned, after such sort to judge of the authority of divine scripture, that, as Panormitan and other which be expert in the canon law do affirm, we ought rather to believe a simple man, bringing in scripture, than a whole general council together[4]. Wherefore let him ponder with what counsel and mind he hath spoken these words, that there is no cause why any man ought believe that same gospel himself, either might require to be believed of others, except he be moved thereto by the consent and authority of the church: for verily these seem to me that they

An unlearned man alleging scripture is to be believed before a general council.

[3 "Anaxagoras nivem nigram dixit esse: ferres me, si ego idem dicerem?" Cic. de Nat. Deor. Lib. 1. c. 10.]

[4 Prima super primo Decretalium, tom. 1. p. 122. col. 1. 1534.]

may not be reported without injury of God's majesty, and
Acts xvii. great impiety and felony. Of truth, at Berrhæa such as heard the doctrine of Paul and Silas, daily did search in the scriptures, whether those things which they had heard were so or no, as they were instructed by them: although the sheep of Christ do know the voice of him as of their good
[John x. 27.] herdsman, and follow him, (as he himself testifieth), but they
The church must be ruled by God's word, and not by authority. acknowledge no stranger. Out of the which it is apparent, such as believe, not to be led by the authority of the church, but to be excited with the power and majesty of God's word.

Now let us go to one other wrong that our adversary doth to the Holy Ghost, and to Christ, and to his apostles: for to the intent he might persuade that men ought to condescend[1] with the church in all points, yea, in such as may not be declared through the testimony and authority of holy scripture,
Whether Christ gave power to the church to teach any thing besides that he taught. he saith, that Christ taught not all the verity, but to have left many things to the Holy Ghost to be taught; and that the apostles have not written all things which they received of Christ, either of the divine Spirit, but to have commanded the church to observe certain things which be not written, and to charge their posterity therewith.

But how he can prove every thing, let us see: first, there-
John xvi. fore, he proveth by thilk place, where Christ saith, "As yet I have many things to speak unto you, but ye are not able to bear them now. Verily, when the Spirit of verity shall come, he shall teach you all truth." Here, first, I do omit that Christ saith not, He shall teach; but, shall induce or lead you into all truth. I truly do come unto the sense of those words. But it needeth not for us to bring in any new thing; for Christ himself before had taught how this should be understanded: for where he had admonished many things of this word to be kept, the which because that same apostles hitherto did not sufficiently perceive, lest they should be in doubt of any thing henceforth, he comforted them with
John xiv. these words: "I have spoken these words to you abiding among you; but thilk Comforter, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father shall send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring you in memory of all that I have recited

[1 "Assentiendum esse," *Lat.*]

unto you." Thou seest, Florebell, of the Holy Ghost none other things to be taught, but those only which by Christ were spoken and taught, that is, to be expounded and to be brought in remembrance. The which also by another place may be confirmed, where Christ saith, "Teach ye them to observe all whatsoever I have commanded you." Why is it that Christ himself testifieth unto his apostles, that he hath "taught them all things which he had received of the Father"? Now truly, if any man affirmeth that Christ received not all things which did appertain unto his duty and office for the salvation of the church, he shall be both accused of high impiety and also confuted by six hundred places of scripture. As when John saith, "The Father loveth the Son, and hath committed all things into his hand" and power. And Christ himself speaketh unto his Father, saying, "All things which are mine be thine, and such as be thine be mine." Certes Paul affirmeth, in Christ to be put all the treasures of science and wisdom of God. Finally, how may he be the wisdom of God, if the Father hath hidden from him anything? How truly performed he his office, if he did not manifest all things to his disciples which were touching his business?

[Mat. xxviii. 20.] John xv. John iii. John xvii. [Col. ii. 3.]

But Florebell saith, Christ ownself speaketh it, that he hath many things which then his disciples were not able to bear; therefore he held his peace many things, neither revealed all to them because of their weakness. I grant: but thilk things contained no new doctrine, but of that he had spoken an explanation and confirmation. These (as I have mentioned) were reserved to the Holy Spirit. He spake many things of the kingdom of God; many things of his passion and death; and much of the glory to come; and after that he arose from his death, of his most ample power; and much of the salvation and vocation of the gentiles. These and such other the apostles did little comprehend, which is plain by many places of scripture; for they looked for a terrenal kingdom. They knew not the counsel of God of Christ's death: what glory should follow his passion, they understood not: how he should ascend into heaven, they perceived not: that the gospel belonged unto the gentiles, they were ignorant. Therefore, because they were weaklings, and could not at that time bear so high mysteries, nor the reason of all those things, neither

it was expedient them then to be able; Christ, our most prowest[1] Master, keepeth silence of them, but yet doth them to wit, that they attend for the understanding of them until the coming of the heavenly Spirit, who teaching and renewing those things as they had heard, they might be ignorant of nothing. This then is the plain and clear sense of that place, which also our ancestors themselves have upholden.

But the apostles (quoth Florebell) have not declared all things particularly, and written, that Christ both spake and did. Whereby provest thou that? Out of John, saith he, which in the end of his gospel hath left thus written: "Indeed there be many other things that Christ did, which if they should be written severally, I suppose the whole world might not contain those books as could be written." Would to God, Florebell, thou wouldest gather and set forth the texts of holy scripture, nor craftily, nor subtlely, neither maliciously! for I see thee, while thou covetest too much to be seen an orator, to be small religious and little Christian: for what need was it for thee to bring in this place, when thou knowest another place more pithier than this in that same evangelist, unless thou wouldest deceive the reader? for he which saith that all things which Christ wrought be not written, the selfsame witnesseth, that such things as be necessary to attain salvation and immortality be written. Of truth Christ hath done many other miracles before his disciples, which, saith he, "be not specified in this book; but these same be written for this intent, that ye may believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, and that so believing ye may have for his sake life." Neither, albeit all things be not written of the apostles which Christ did work, therefore such as be requisite for the church be not all written. Wherefore Austin[2] expounding the same evangelist saith, "For where the Lord Jesus hath done many things, all be not written, as thilk evangelist testifieth: certes there were chosen things that should be written, which seemed to be sufficient for the sal-

John xx.

All things necessary to obtain salvation be written. [John xx. 30, 31.]

[1] Most prowest: "prudentissimus," *Lat.*]

[2] Cum multa fecisset Dominus Jesus, non omnia scripta sunt, sicut idem ipse sanctus Johannes evangelista testatur, multa Dominum Christum et dixisse et fecisse quæ scripta non sunt. Electa sunt autem quæ scriberentur, quæ saluti credentium sufficere videbantur. Aug. in Joh. Tract. 49. Tom. III. col. 2163. Paris. 1837.]

vation of faithful persons." And Chrysostom[3] saith, "Whatsoever is requisite for salvation is wholly contained in the scriptures." What meaneth it that John speaks? not of necessary doctrine, but of miracles and wonders which Christ hath wrought out; of the which such as were most renowned and best were chosen, that seemed sufficient for to manifest Christ, and to confirm his doctrine and religion: which point our adversary witnesseth; for he saith, that John took more care for to record Christ's sermons and preachings, than he did in reciting his facts. And the selfsame is to be judged of all the other writings of the apostles; verily, that in them be included all things which belong unto faith and religion, which appertain unto good constitutions, and for the church to be ordered and reformed; and finally such things as be needful for the blissful life to be obtained.

But Florebell contemptuously clepeth[4] the second book of Luke, which he writ of the Acts of the Apostles, a little commentary; and calleth those one and twenty most divine and copious epistles of Paul, and of other the apostles, very few. Certes, not being well content that the history of Luke is not as big as Speculum Vincentii[5], or else as Livy, and that those epistles be not as great and many in number as thilk which men call the Decretals; neither he reckoneth not how light a thing it is to replenish paper with lies; but those be so ample, so copious, and so strong, that nothing seemeth to lack, for to confute Christ's enemies, and overthrow their temerity and boldness. For as touching Luke, all men clearly seeth this, that nothing is so exactly written of others which his commentaries do not excel both in majesty, diligence, and fidelity, which be the chief points of a history; and by the judgment of all men those be so much allowed, that faculty to write may seem by him to be prevented from others, and not ministered[6]. And algates those appear

[3] Quidquid quæritur ad salutem, totum jam adimpletum est in scripturis. Chrysostom. Op. Par. 1834. Opus Imperf. in Matth. Hom. xli. Tom. vi. col. 914. App.]

[4] Clepeth: calleth.]

[5] The title of this book is "Speculum Naturale," Ven. 1494; the work of Vincent of Beauvais, a Dominican monk of the thirteenth century, who died in 1264.]

[6] "Ut prærepta, non præbita, facultas scriptoribus videatur," *Lat.*]

but beginnings and rudiments, neither do contain all the lives of the apostles, nor their doings; yet for all that those be sufficient enough, as nobly John Chrysostom[1] hath said, to all such as will at this time apply their mind thereto, and fashion by that example their behaviours and the church. Certes, the epistles of Paul (as I may pass over the other apostles) be so perfect, replenished with so great learning and religion, that alone thilk same which was dedicate unto the Romans do include the whole self gospel, as it is preached of all the rest of the apostles, and do contain the definition of all religion. It is not verily fitting[2] that the apostles have written more negligently of such points as belong to religion and holiness, than they present in words had taught: but rather the contrary is like to be true, that they have taught more diligently by writings, (the which thing all men do use,) than they did by mouth and speech. Also men most grant this, that they have throughly put in writing that same doctrine, ordinances, rites and precepts, which in their sermons, which in their communication and private assemblies, they did teach.

This same matter shall greatly appear, if any wight list to compare those most notable Acts of the Apostles with thilk high divine epistles of theirs: for there be not many chapters and places of our christian profession: that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, which died for our sins, and arose again from death to life for our justification; he sitteth and reigneth at the right hand of the Father, that he may shew us favour and grace, and lead us with his Spirit; that he shall come at the day of doom, then when all folk as be dead shall arise: over and besides this, the amendment of our life; the forgiveness of sins through the faith of Jesus Christ; baptism, the supper of the Lord; prayers, concord, and love one toward another; the provision for the poor; and finally, pastors and the whole ministry of

The sum of christian religion.

[1 Ἂν οὕτω τοίνυν θέλωμεν τὰς γραφὰς ἐρευνᾷν μετὰ ἀκριβείας, καὶ μὴ ἁπλῶς, δυνησόμεθα τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπιτυχεῖν· ἂν διὰ παντὸς αὐταῖς ἐνδιατρίβωμεν, καὶ δογμάτων ὀρθότητα καὶ βίου εἰσόμεθα ἠκριβωμένον. Chrysost. Op. Par. 1834. in Joan. Hom. LIII. § 3. Tom. VIII. p. 359.]

[2 *sitting*, in the MS.]

churches; these things Christ both commanded and taught: that selfsame his apostles by mouth hath preached and confirmed them by writings: thilk same the church hath always retained and kept, until at length antichrist perverted all. But these Florebell seeth not, either will not see; for he seemeth to esteem no more the epistles of the apostles than either of Plato or Seneca, or else of any other philosopher. He sayeth, those were almost written for to correct and confirm their conditions which be but novices in Christ, and had received thilk things which were behoveful for them to believe and judge; albeit he denieth not that they have touched certain secret matters, and rather to have shewed those, than to have expounded, because they were wont to teach more largely, and to set forth many things besides in the presence of people by mouth.

Thus nobly and worshipfully of the most high divine monuments of the apostles judgeth Florebell. O, what a world is this! O, what perverse manners! that there should be such men, which dare to call the religion taught by Christ, written by his disciples and right holy hearers by the instigation of the Holy Ghost, covered over with the blood of so many martyrs, and testified, defended by the doctors, a thing wanting and imperfect! What may men clepe perfect? They call thilk religion delivered from the wisdom of God,—that doctrine, rites and ceremonies,—that law which doeth, containeth, and maketh perfect all things,—and the very eternal mind of God, to be a thing begun, and not absolute and perfect.

But they do not only say it, but also they abuse certain places of the scripture for to confirm it; as this place which is unto the Thessalonicenses written: "Therefore, brethren, stand ye fast, and keep the institutions which ye have learned, either by our speaking, or else by our epistles." Out of the which he willeth to conclude, that Paul taught the Thessalonians certain points that he hath not written. But if he had looked a little better, truly he should see that he might conclude no such thing; for many men at that time supposed the latter day of the Lord to be at hand. But Paul had taught specially the Thessalonians, that the empire of Rome being in prosperous estate, and antichrist not yet declared, the Lord would not as yet come: but after that Paul had departed from them, cer- 2 Thess. ii.

tain other began to make business of that thing, and greatly to quake for fear; the which when Paul understood, he wrote two epistles unto the Thessalonians, and in both those, besides many other things which he instructeth them of, he maketh mention of that day of the Lord's coming, whereof they were in controversy; and those things (as he being present before them had laid the same) he recordeth again. But in his latter epistle, where he reciteth that he had spoken, he saith, "Whether do ye not remember, that when I was with you I told these things unto you?" And a little after, where he entreateth of the coming of antichrist, he concludeth with an exhortation in this wise: "Therefore, brethren, stand ye, and keep the traditions which ye have learned, either by our speaking, or else writing." Here who understandeth not by those traditions thilk things to be signified which he had taught them of the coming of Christ? Of the which, because he had already twice entreated of, both before them his self, and by letters written unto them, therefore he addeth, "Which either by word, or else by our letters, ye have learned:" as who would say, It maketh no great skill for the purpose, whether of two they follow, either that he hath spoke, or that he hath written, since he taught one manner of thing both by writing and speaking. The like manner of phrase is in the third chapter of the said epistle, where he saith, "We command you to convey yourselves from every brother wandering inordinately, and not observing the institution and form which he hath received of us." And lest peradventure any body might gather Paul to have taught certain things which be not written, by and by he inferreth that same form of institution, and confesseth himself to be thilk that he had preached by his mouth and word: for he saith, "When we were with you, we commanded you this, that if any person nilled to labour, he should not eat."

1 Cor. xi. Also he allegeth one other place of Paul, where Paul, after that he had declared the manner of the Lord's supper, he putteth to these words: "I will dispose the rest when I come myself." But neither this place may help them any thing which will their decrees to be accounted as God's: for when Paul committed all things to the Corinthians, which he had received of the Lord, of the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, after that same very form, as in thilk epistle he describ-

eth, what else might he have charged them withal? The holy apostle was not so bold, that he would cast[1] any thing to the institution of Christ his Lord, either thought that ought to be added to. Certes, that it was the same institution of the Lord's mystical supper, it is evident by the description of the evangelists. It is plain, therefore, that he meant nothing of doctrine, when he saith, he will dispose the residue when he cometh. What then meaneth it? Those be controversies and strifes, whereof he spake in the beginning: these same, when he cometh, he saith he will set at peace, and such as be out of order he will bring in order; that, as in another place he commanded, "all things may be done by an order." [1 Cor. xiv. 40.]

What of that other place, whether shall not that uphold them at all? Verily, nothing at all. Paul saith, "I praise you, my brethren, that ye keep all mine in remembrance; and, as I have appointed, ye observe ordinances." For neither here Paul understandeth any other ordinances than the very same which in that epistle he teacheth and comprehendeth, specially that they ensue him[2], and that they nor offend nor hurt any of the weaklings by their christian liberty and knowledge of faith. For Paul praiseth them that they so did, and that they remembered after what manner he with all men, either Jews or Gentiles, was accustomed to be conversant; the which thing may appear by those words that go before thilk text, and in the chapter precedent. [1 Cor. xi. 2.]

But now let us vanquish that fourth thing, whereby Florebell troweth to have the victory, that is, which the said Paul, writing unto Timothy, saith: "Thou, therefore, my son, be strong in grace, which is by Jesus Christ, and in those things which thou hast heard of me by many witnesses: commit those things to faithful men, which also shall be meet, that also they may teach others." I do acknowledge the words of Paul, neither I am ignorant of his customable exhortation. He exhorteth Timothy his son to continue in the doctrine which he once received, the which he oftentimes doth in his epistles; and eke that he endeavour to set forth the same to the uttermost of his power. Whether is this any new thing? [2 Tim. ii. 1, 2.]

[1 Cast: add.]

[2 "Præsertim ut se imitentur," *Lat.* "Be ye *followers* of me. 1 Cor. xi. 1.]

Who here may think any secreter doctrine than might be put in writing to be signified? and not rather the very gospel approved by the law and prophets, taught by Christ, and spread abroad by his disciples, both with preaching and writings? Certes the selfsame, and nothing else, that which the apostle teacheth in the said epistle by these words: "But persist thou in thilk things which thou hast learned of me, and which be committed unto thee; knowing of whom thou hast learned them; and that from a child thou hast learned the knowledge of holy writ, which can make thee wise unto salvation through faith in Jesus Christ. All scripture inspired from God is profitable for doctrine, for to reprove and correct, for the institution unto justice, that a man of God may be perfect, and prompt, and ready to all good works." Here thou seest that he referreth all things unto the holy scriptures; he ascribeth all thilks to those same, which may seem to belong unto the perfect introduction of piety and religion. What is it then that ye go about to establish out of that place? He saith, "Be thou strong in thilk things which thou hast heard," and not as thou hast imagined or found out; for "faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ." And thou hast heard them not privily, neither by stealth, nor secretly, but by many witnesses: that is, openly, in the mouth, in the eyes of all men; for so that Chrysostom[1] doth interpret it. "Commit these things to faithful persons:" commit thou, he saith, as the treasure of a king, which ought to be laid in a sure place; otherelse it shall be lost or corrupted: but if it shall be commended for to keep unto faithful wights, it will be faithfully kept; and that same, when need, shall be restored again. But because Paul meant of teachers chiefly, and pastors to be instructed, therefore he addeth, "which shall be fit also to teach others." Then he requireth in a teacher and master two things: that he be faithful, that is, that he keep the doctrine which he hath received whole and sound; the other thing truly is, that he be apt and meet for to teach. These things if they were in you, O you popish doctors and masters, as they ought verily to be, we would not strive with you, we would gladly hear you, we would fol-

[2 Tim. iii. 14—17.]

Two things requisite in a teacher.

[1 Τί ἐστι, διὰ πολλῶν μαρτύρων; ὡς ἂν εἰ ἔλεγεν, οὐ λάθρα ἠκούσας, οὐδὲ κρυφῇ, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν παρόντων, μετὰ παῤῥησίας. Chrysost. Op. Par. 1636. Tom. VI. in 2 Ep. ad Tim. cap. iii. Hom. III.]

low your doctrine. But of whom have ye heard that which ye teach? not of God, but of the devil; not of Christ, but of antichrist; not of Paul, but of the pope. Besides this, how have ye been faithful in the doctrine of Christ, which ye have taken once upon you? with what faith have ye kept, set forth, and taught that thing was committed to your charge of that most holiest doctrine? For this is not man's, but God's law, which ye have neither invented, nor desired, nor made, but we have received, learned, and drawn from God: which not by power, but by patience, not by strength, but by meekness, we do defend; that if any man require it, if any covet to hear it, that same we will teach faithfully, yea, with the loss of our head and life. [1 Tim. vi. 20.]

But because Florebell upholdeth that (by the authority of Irenæus) the apostolical doctrine (as it were) through continual succession came from the apostles unto the bishops, without writings and books; this opinion is to be diminished, and his subtlety to be detected. Irenæus sheweth the gifts of Christ to be found in the church of Christ, in the which the Lord hath constituted both minister and gifts. He allegeth verily a place of Paul out of his first epistle unto the Corinthians: and certes, "God ordained in the church from first to be apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly doctors, again powers, moreover gifts of healing, helpers, governments, diversity of languages." "Where then," saith he[2], "be the gifts of the Lord set, there we must learn the verity, with whom is that succession which was in the apostles of the church, and the sound and irreprehensible doctrine doth remain; for they both do keep thilk faith which is to Godwards, that created all things; and increase that love which we owe to the Son of God, Irenæus. [1 Cor. xii. 28.] Contra Valentin. lib. iv. c. 45.

[2 Ubi igitur tales inveniat aliquis, Paulus docens ait, 'Posuit Deus in ecclesia primo apostolos, secundo prophetas, tertio doctores.' Ubi igitur charismata Domini posita sunt, ibi discere oportet veritatem, apud quos est ea quæ est ab apostolis ecclesiæ successio, et id quod est sanum et irreprobabile conversationis, et inadulteratum et incorruptibile sermonis constat. Hi enim et eam quæ est in unum Deum, qui omnia fecit, fidem nostram custodiunt; et eam quæ est in Filium Dei, dilectionem adaugent, qui tantas dispositiones propter nos fecit; et scripturas sine periculo nobis exponunt, neque Deum blasphemantes, neque patriarchas exhonorantes, neque prophetas contemnentes. Iren. adv. Hæres. Oxon. 1702. Lib. IV. cap. XLV. p. 345.]

that suffered so much for us. And they be which do expound scriptures unto us without peril; neither speaking evil of God, nor reproving the patriarchs, nor despising the prophets." Here, who seeth not that Irenæus willeth nothing else than besides the church neither true faith, nor charity, nor verity to be found, nor the understanding of scriptures to be possible to be had? the which the said doctor and martyr in another place right clearly confirmeth. "To stay," saith he, "upon the divine scriptures, which is a certain and undoubted verity, is to build his house upon a strong and sure stone: but, this forsaken, and to stick upon any other doctrines, it is nothing else than to edify an uncertain ruinous building upon a fleeting sand, from whence the overthrow is easy and light[1]." And in his sixty-second epistle[2], "Blessed," saith he, "which soweth upon all waters, where the ox and the ass treadeth:" that is, which soweth upon people only following the doctrine of both testaments, and not the vain fables of man's traditions.

Lib. ii. cap. 46.

But for because Florebell writeth that other men testifieth the same, meaning that many things were delivered to the church by mouth which be not written, let him listen to Hierome[3] expressing that verse of David, "The Lord shall

Hierome.

[1 Quia autem parabolæ possunt multas recipere absolutiones, ex ipsis de inquisitione Dei affirmare, derelinquentes quod certum et indubitatum et verum est, valde præcipitantium se in periculum et irrationabilium esse, quis non amantium veritatem confitebitur? Et nunquid hoc est non in petra firma et valida et in aperto posita ædificare suam domum, sed in incertum effusæ arenæ? unde et facilis est eversio hujusmodi ædificationis. Iren. adv. Hær. Oxon. 1702. Lib. II. cap. xlvi. p. 172.]

[2 This is manifestly an error of the writer, since no "Epistles" are extant among the works of Irenæus. He may have meant Jerome, whom he immediately after quotes; in the works of which author will be found the following passage, bearing a very close resemblance to that in the text: "Tale quid et in Isaia dictum puto: 'Beatus qui seminat super aquam, ubi bos et asinus calcant.' Quod ille magister beatitudine dignus habeatur, qui super irriguum pectus seminet audientium, tam ex Judæis, quam ex gentium populo congregatum." Hieron. Op. Par. 1699. Comment. in Ecclesiast. Tom. II. col. 777.]

[3 Non dixit, qui sunt in eâ, sed qui fuerunt in eâ. Dominus narrabit: et quomodo narrabit? Non verbo, sed scriptura. In cujus scriptura? In populorum. Non sufficit in populorum, sed etiam principum dicit. Et quorum principum? Qui sunt in eâ? Non dixit hoc, sed

declare in the writings of folk and of princes which have been in her. He said not (quoth he) which be in her. The Lord shall declare, and how shall he declare? not by word, but by writing. In the scripture of whom? of the people. It was not enough to say of the folk or of people, but of princes. And of what princes? which be in her? he said not so; but which have been in her. Consider ye therefore, how full the scripture is of mystery. We have read Paul the apostle; we have read Peter; and we have read him saying, 'Whether do ye seek a proof of him which speaketh in me, Christ?' And that Paul speaketh, Christ speaketh; 'for he that receiveth you, receiveth me.' Therefore our Lord and Saviour sheweth to us, and speaketh, in the writings of his princes. The Lord shall declare by the writings of his folk in the holy scriptures; which scripture is read of all folk, that all persons may understand. That he thus sayeth, he meaneth: as the apostles have written, so Christ hath spoken by his gospels, not to the intent a few might perceive it, but all men. Plato hath written in writings; but he hath not written unto the people, but to a few; so that scarcely three men understand them. But these, I mean the princes of the church and chieftains of Christ, have not written to a few, but to all people. And of princes, that is

[Ps. lxxxvii. 6.]

[2 Cor. xiii. 3.]

qui fuerunt in eâ. Videte ergo quomodo scriptura sancta sacramentis plena est. Legimus apostolum Paulum, legimus Petrum, et legimus illum dicentem, An experimentum ejus quæritis qui in me loquitur Christus? Et quod Paulus loquitur, loquitur Christus. Qui enim vos recipit, me recipit: Dominus ergo noster atque Salvator narrat nobis et loquitur in scripturis principum suorum. Dominus narrabit in scripturis populorum; in scripturis sanctis: quæ scriptura populis omnibus legitur; hoc est, ut omnes intelligant. Quod dicit hoc est: Sicut scripserunt apostoli, sic et ipse Dominus: hoc est, per evangelia sua locutus est, non ut pauci intelligerent, sed ut omnes. Plato scripsit in scriptura, sed non scripsit populis, sed paucis; vix enim intelligunt tres homines: isti verò, hoc est, principes ecclesiæ et principes Christi, non scripserunt paucis, sed universo populo: et principum, hoc est, apostolorum et evangelistarum, horum qui fuerunt in ea. Videte quid dicat, Qui fuerunt, non qui sunt: ut, exceptis apostolis, quodcunque aliud postea dicetur, abscindatur, non habeat postea auctoritatem. Quamvis ergo sanctus sit aliquis post apostolos, quamvis disertus sit, non habet auctoritatem; quoniam Dominus narrat in scriptura populorum, et principum horum qui fuerunt in ea. Hieron. Op. 1699. Tom. II. 350. in Psalm. lxxxvi. Comment.]

of apostles and evangelists, of those which have been in her: ponder what he saith, which have been in her, and not which be; so that, besides the apostles, whatsoever else afterward shall be said, let it be disannulled, nor let it have in time to come any authority. Wherefore, then, if there be any holy man sith the apostles' time, be he never so cunning, he hath none authority; for because the Lord declareth in the writings of people and princes of such as hath been in the church." And the said Hierome, in his commentaries upon the epistle of Paul unto Titus, writeth thus[1]: "That which is affirmed by us, it must be upholden by the testimonies of holy scriptures, in the which God daily speaketh to such as be faithful."

Certes, these be so manifest, so plain, and do confute so dingily[2] the sentence and saying of Florebell, that I marvel, if so be he perceiveth these, him to have been able[3] to write against so evident a truth any thing. But this is a great deal more to be wondered at, that he durst be so bold to obscure and intricate so easy and manifest text of [Gal. i. 8, 9.] Paul, written unto the Galatians. The text is this: "Although we, either an angel of heaven, shall preach to you a gospel beside that we have preached unto you, let it be excommunicated: as we have said before, so say I now again, if any preach any other thing unto you than that ye have received, hold him accursed." By those words what the apostle mindeth, every wight doth understand; for it is a continual statute and rule in the church, by that which it is ordained, that no person teach any other gospel, either any other doctrine of salvation, beside that which both Paul and other the apostles and disciples of the Lord have delivered to us. Thilk same verily is contained in the writings of the new testament; for we have shewn before, that those holy writers have taught by mouth and put in writings one manner of gospel and the self-same doctrine wholly; except plainly we would

[1] Quod nobis sanctarum scripturarum testimoniis asserendum est, in quibus quotidie credentibus loquitur Deus. Hieron. Op. Ep. ad Ctesiph. cxxxiii. §. 13. i. 1042.]

[2] Dingily: forcibly; from the old verb *ding*, to dash against. "Tamque aptè" is added in the Lat.]

[3] I wonder that he was able, &c.]

accuse them of inconstancy and of vanity. Wherefore, since at this present time no voice of the apostles may be heard, besides that scripture of theirs which is the interpreter of their voice and speech, whosoever shall bring in any other gospel either doctrine, besides that which is included in the most sacred writings, and is apparent that both Christ and his disciples whilom have preached, such an one, by the commandment of Paul, is to be kept out from the fold of the church, as a wolf utterly to be repelled, which violently invadeth the flock of Christ.

Which thing sith it is so, and is so understanded, after that sort, of all men which at any time hitherto have been notable in the doctrine of religion; yet, for all that, this Florebell is so bold, to subornate an exposition of it which hath not been heard sith men were born, neither witty verily nor subtle, (lest peradventure it might please him), but ungodly and rude, and sprung from malice. "He said not (quoth he), If any man shall teach you otherwise than Matthew, Luke, Mark, or John hath writ, either shall write, or else otherwise than I have written: he maketh mention of no manner of writing, neither of gospel nor epistle. What then saith he? besides that which we have preached unto you; that is, otherwise than before you we have taught, and by preaching have committed to you; and besides that which ye have received, and in personal presence ye have learned, of us." O witty exposition! O the wonderful sharp judgment of Florebell! What if that which was preached, the same also be sealed up in writings? whether he which forbiddeth any thing to be preached besides that hath been preached, the same man also forbiddeth that hath been written to be preached? No man truly may say that, which is endued with reason: not because a man forbiddeth any thing to be done, otherwise than he hath spoken, he by and by prohibiteth that to be done which is written, if thilk same thing which he hath spoken be had in writing: 'he said not,' quoth Florebell, 'besides that which is written; therefore there is one thing written and another thing preached.' But Paul himself doth refel such great treacheries easily, and slanders of his sentence: for writing unto the Corinthians he openly and plainly testifieth, that he writeth the [1 Cor. xv. 1, 11.]

selfsame gospel which before then he preached; and he saith it maketh no matter whether he, either any other, do teach the same gospel. Also he hath left written the same in another place, and sovereignly in his epistle unto the Ephesians.

But let us pass over these trifles; and forasmuch as we have confirmed the holy scripture not only to be perfect and absolute, but also we have dissolved the contrary arguments, now let us shew briefly, that nothing ought to be added either diminished to the said scripture. For first of all, God himself by Moses forbid that utterly in the law, that nothing should be added unto his words and precepts, neither anything taken away from the same; but that respect should alone be had upon that he commandeth, and thilk kept and observed. Now, if the scripture of the new testament be the word of God, the which by no means may be denied; by the said law also we be forbidden to cast to, either to take away any thing. Doth not that which in Solomon's Proverbs is read, ought to put us earnestly in fear, that we should not go about any such matter, but should have in more higher reputation the words and scriptures of God? when he saith, "All the words of God be purified, and be a shield of defence unto those which trust upon them. Cast thou nought unto his words, lest he reprove thee, and thou be found false." What saith John, that most renowned prophet of Jesus Christ? with what words doth he end his book, which containeth the whole doctrine of Christ, and all the destinies and prophecies of the church and of the wicked? with how horrible words, which ought always to be had in memory? "For I witness," saith he, "to every one, hearing the words of this prophecy, if any man add either imagine of his own brain ought unto these my words, God will put upon him the plagues written in this book. And if any man pluck away from the words of this prophecy any thing, God will pluck away his part out of his book of life, and from the holy city, and from those things which be written in this book." And eke that Paul writeth unto the Galatians approveth the same: "The testament of man, if it be allowed, no wight abateth it, either augmenteth any thing to it." But will men amplify the testament of God and of his Son? Man's

Deut. iv. Deut. xii.

Prov. xxx.

[Rev. xxii. 18, 19.]

[Gal. iii. 15.]

laws and decrees be accounted very holy: but shall not so be the laws of God, which is best and mightiest, and of Christ, King of all kings? And sith these folk are enwrapped with so great temerity, as they are not adrade[1] to accuse God of negligence and slackness; yea, let those elder fathers come in and aid us in God's cause. "We learn[2] (saith Ambrose, the bishop of the church of Medy[3],) as much as the very present letter ministereth to us, and that we may not for any consideration add any thing to that we be commanded: for if a man put either abate ought, it seemeth to be a certain perverting of the commandment; for the pure and simple form of the commandment is to be observed, or the order of the testimony to be manifested. Eftsoons, a witness when he adjoineth any thing of his own surmise unto the process of things done, he defouleth the whole faith of his testimony by the falsifying of one part: ergo, nothing must be added, albeit seemeth good." Ambrose.

Also as notably speaketh Cyprian the martyr, saying: "The gospel comprehendeth all things which be now and to come, both honour, godliness, and faith. He hath concluded all things under the word of preaching; for as a preacher preacheth to all such as be gathered in a company together, even so we, saith he," (meaning Paul, whose words he expoundeth of his epistle unto Titus,) "we preach openly in such wise that we add nought, but those things only which we have heard. Perde[4] this is the virtue of a preacher, to recite all points truly, which he is put in trust withal, neither to put to ought, either to alter, or abate." If then Christ, when he instructed his disciples, hath taught them all that he had received of the Father, nor reserved any thing, either to Cyprian.

[1] Adrade: adread, afraid.]

[2] Etenim quantum præsens lectio docet, discimus nihil vel cautionis gratia jungere nos debere mandato. Si quid enim vel addas vel detrahas, prævaricatio quædam videtur esse mandati. Pura enim et simplex mandati forma servanda, vel testimonii series intimanda est. Plerumque testis dum aliquid ad seriem gestorum ex suo adjicit, totam testimonii fidem partis mendacio decolorat. Nihil igitur, vel quod bonum videtur, addendum est. Ambros. Op. Basil. 1567. Lib. de Paradiso. cap. xii. Tom. iv. p. 107.]

[3] Mediolanensis ecclesiæ pontifex, *Lat.* i.e. of Milan.]

[4] Perde; or Perdie: a form of oath; (Par Dieu.)]

Montan, or to Manichæus, or else to Mahomet, or finally to the pope, as who would say, to comforters[1]; if the Holy Ghost hath revealed all things to the apostles; if thilk apostles and disciples of the Lord have put all things in writings, nor have charged the church with aught which is not written by them; if, finally, commandment was given to the church, that she should teach nought else besides that it had received of the apostles, nor add, nor take away, nor change; whether is it not a huge boldness, under the pretence of the authority of the church, to make and ordain new religion, new doctrine, new rites and ceremonies, and altogether a new gospel (when indeed it is nought else but the overthrowing of the gospel), and to entangle careful men with vain superstitions?

Nobly it was spoken of an orator[2], that there is nothing so holy, which boldness at some time might not defile. For if there were certain things needful to salvation left to the church afterward to be enacted; why neither Christ himself, nor the apostles, nor the disciples of the Lord, give us any advertisement thereof? why have they hid from us a matter so weighty, so perilous, and so necessary to be known? Were not the writers of the gospels negligent, the apostles uncircumspect, Christ improvident, the Holy Ghost ignorant of things to come, if we hear the backbiters of God's majesty and of the holy scriptures?

But because Florebell standeth in doubt that this place will be rent from him, he passeth unto another. And as that thraall[3] man of Terence[4], fearing his own cause and mistrusting his own wiliness, said, If it come not to pass this way, we will attempt another; even so Florebell, knowledging himself to maintain an evil cause, deviseth and draweth one thing after another, supposing that amongst a multitude some thing to

[1 "Quasi paracletis," *Lat.* used, probably, by Curio, not so much in the sense of "comforters," as referring to that other sense of the word, and office of the Holy Ghost, by which he is the *Teacher* and perpetual *Admonisher* of the church.]

[2 "Qui cùm intelligerent nihil esse tam sanctum, quod non aliquando violaret audacia, supplicium in parricidas singulare excogitaverunt, &c." Cic. pro Sex. Rosc. Amstel. 1661. p. 206.]

[3 Thraall man, thrall: slave.]

[4 Hac non successit: alia aggrediemur via. Terent. And. III. i. 47.]

be which may aid him. For to the intent he might constitute and establish the authority of his church, by the which he might uphold somewhat besides the scriptures, and never to be wandering in error, he goeth about to challenge unto it the right and title to interpret divine scriptures. But that reason of his is very weak for to prove that which our adversary intendeth: for he would, that if the church hath authority and right to interpret, that by and by it hath power for to decree new things and to retain them, which may not seem to be able to be confirmed with the testimonies and authority of holy scriptures. But this is like as if any wight should say, that because a man may run, he may also fly; either a lawyer, for that he hath authority to interpret the laws, that he hath eke power to make laws: but this how unsightly a thing it is, and how far from all reason, who perceiveth it not?

If that with any argument or reason Florebell proveth that, let any man look; for he saith, it is not agreeable for the Holy Ghost, which may not suffer the church to err in interpreting the scriptures, to permit the same notwithstanding to be oppressed with superstition, and to be enbasted[5] with vain opinions repugnant to the sentence of the divine volumes. Here first I would know of thee, Florebell, whether thou thinkest the Holy Spirit to teach things which be contrary one to another, and do not agree together? Whether thou list, take: for if he teach not contrary things, there is nothing that thou mayest look for of him, than that in the holy writ by those divine writers he hath spoken and set forth. But if he speaketh and telleth you those things which be repugnant to the holy scriptures, now it is not the Holy Spirit, but a deceivable and lying spirit sent from hell for to deceive men. There is no cause, then, why we should look for from the Holy Ghost any new learning, either diverse from that which those heavenly men and messengers of the Lord have left written in books to us, either that we do make her the author and teacher of our lies: for the Spirit is true and always one, whom Christ hath given to the church, not for to teach new matters, but for to expound and put in our remembrance those things which were whilom committed and taught to us. Where-

[5] Enbasted: steeped in; from verb to "baste;" "imbui," *Lat.*]

fore, although the church may interpret and expound with the Holy Ghost, their guide and master, the divine writings; therefore it may not prescribe and constitute a doctrine or else any laws for salvation and immortality to be obtained.

But sithen it is sufficiently before approved that the learning of our religion, which is comprehended in the writs of the old and new testament, to be so perfect and absolute, that neither angels truly, nor celestial spirits, may want any thing in it; sithen also by that they be taught; it me seemeth good to speak of the way and lore to interpret any thing. Then let Florebell tell me, whether it may be seen rightful to comment[1] any thing or to abate, as concerning the matter in defining holy scriptures. If he saith, yea; he shall be confuted by the scriptures of God, whereof I made mention before, by the which it is forbidden, that we neither put to, or else take away aught, that may deprave or alter the sense of them. If he nayeth it, and be assayed with[2] thilk doctrine which the secretaries of God hath set in pointell[3]; then we shall shew that he may be reduced unto health, if it be possible, and after what sort it is lawful to be occupied in expounding the holy writings. And what ways or what mean might be invented, more better than that which first Christ himself, and afterwards his disciples, have followed? For Christ Jesus, although he was able to teach of himself, as God; yet to the end he would declare to us this way, which have not like authority, he brought forth Moses, David, and other prophets, for to confirm those things he taught; and he admonished the hearers, that they should confer[4] with diligence those prophets with thilk things he instructed them of; whereby it might be brought to pass, that they should find both life and the truth, and draw out the plain meaning of the divine sentences. The which thing eke afterwards his disciples thoroughly ensued, whether by word or by writing they would teach. That I say is this; that the obscure and harder places by other places of holy scriptures, not darkish, but manifest,

The way to expound holy scripture.

[1] Comment: invent, devise; "affingere," *Lat.*]

[2] Assayed with: satisfied with; "contentus eâ doctrinâ," *Lat.*]

[3] Have set in pointel: have put into writing; (*pointel* meaning 'a writing-pen;') "literis mandarunt," *Lat.*]

[4] Confer: compare.]

clear, and easy, [to] be expounded; and not by man's will: which manner and way, such as were the fathers after the apostles, both knew and highly commended. For this is the sentence of Hilary, in his books of the Trinity: "He is a right good reader, which searcheth the interpretation of the sayings of scripture by the sayings of scripture, rather than make and determine it himself; and should declare it by them, rather than bring it of his own head[5]." He clepeth him a reader which readeth the divine books to the intent he may understand them, and commenteth somewhat thereupon; which in reading useth to interpret; and him he will not straightway to imagine any exposition, if he chance upon any hard place, but to mark the place, but to attend; until by reading other places do come, which may seem to be sufficient for to make evident that same place. Wherefore we deny not that the holy scriptures must be expounded, if in any place it be dark; and if it be doubtful, to be distincted[6]; if it be short; to be dilated; if it appear to be contrary, to be reconciled: and this office, to expound, willingly enough we grant to the church, and in her only to confess[7]. But this we do nay[8], that by any man's interpretation any new doctrine ought to be erected, which cannot stand and be upholden by manifest and certain places of the said scripture. And besides this, we do affirm that none, either man or set of men, may challenge unto them, as it were by a title of inheritance, thilk same right and office for to interpret; but that it belongeth to all men which, being inspired with the Holy Spirit, have purposed to labour themselves therein. Wherefore there is nothing why the pope or any other man may arrogate the same unto him, as by his own peculiar interest, that he would it to be lawful for no man to interpret the divine books besides those whom he shall appoint unto that office; that, as a cook prepareth meats for his own tooth, so those

Hilarius.

[5] Optimus lector est, qui dictorum intelligentiam exspectet ex dictis potius quam imponat, et retulerit magis quam attulerit; neque cogat id videri dictis contineri, quod ante lectionem præsumserit intelligendum. Hilar. Pictav. Op. Bened. Par. 1693. de Trin. Lib. 1. §. 18. col. 776, 7.]

[6] "Distinguendam," *Lat.* to be *discerned*, as to its true meaning.]

[7] "To confess" that the power resides "in her only."]

[8] Nay: deny.]

may expound the holy scriptures for his pleasures and most corrupt judgment.

Then this followeth not, as Florebell troweth, that if the church maintain any thing which cannot be confirmed by the testimonies of holy writ, yet for all that we must think that she cannot be deceived; but rather the contrary, we ought precisely to judge, that if any number of men, be it never so great and populous, not alone to be seduced and err[1], but also thilk in no wise to be the holy church of Christ; for that only is the true church of Christ which observeth the pure and sincere doctrine of Christ, and sticketh not, for to retain the same, to put all her endeavour and diligence. Which thing, Florebell, if thou understoodest or wouldest understand, thou shouldest never call us slanderers of the church: but we forgive thee this, with six hundred things more; and beseech God that he do open to thee and to others the true church, whereof thou being ignorant, ye cannot be saved. I wis[2], such things as thou settest forth of certain old ceremonies, as those be proposed lightly by thee, so may these lightly be passed over of me: for I do nought regard rites and ceremonies which have no force for salvation and justice; for those ought not to excite sedition in the church: albeit it is very good to turn our minds unto thilk rites and mysteries alone, which Christ himself left us and sealed up with his own blood, the handling of whom and use is much worth unto piety and godliness; whereas the inventions of men, be they never so gay, seem to have little efficacy to promote piety and set forth religion, but great weight for to destroy them.

I come therefore unto those things which thou sayest may not be doubted of us, when, for all that, those cannot be proved by divine scriptures. And as I may speak of the Holy Ghost, who knoweth not by the divine writings, except he be very blind, that he proceedeth both from the Father and the Son? for why else should he be called the Spirit of Christ, unless he flowed also from him? Who ever heard any thing to be any man's, which might not be of him? And although

[Rom. viii. 9.]

[1 "If any number, &c., maintain any such thing, we should consider that that number, holding such views, are not only deceived, but are not the true church of Christ."]

[2 Wis: wist; am of opinion.]

Christ saith this Spirit to issue and to be sent from the Father, yet nevertheless he denieth him not to proceed from himself; but because he is also a man, he teacheth all things to be referred unto the fountain, that is God. But yet because Christ is also God, therefore he saith in another place, himself together with the Father to work, and bring to pass whatsoever the Father doth. Why is it also that he apertly behesteth[3] to send the Holy Ghost, that he might instruct us the Saint Spirit to descend from him? for "if I depart (saith he), I will send him unto you."

But what do I any longer about these? sithen all such things which Florebell saith to be retained of the church without any authority of scripture, or those be idle things; either at liberty[4]; or else those may be found set forth, and allowed by divine testimonies, by the labour and diligence of holy fathers. Paul permitteth folk of contrary religion, coupled together in marriage, to dwell so one with another: therefore what authority of the church without huge felony may forbid it? Eke the holy day received for the sabbath pertaineth nought unto salvation, as Paul his self apertly testifieth unto the Colossians; and it may be any other day, whom any nation, either magistrate, or else the church, shall appoint and approve, for to yield their common prayers unto God, and to receive his doctrine and sacraments. That verily the Lord's supper ought to be taken of men fasting, either no, it hath been always at liberty[4], and always shall be; for that Christ hath not bound us to any other thing, than that, as oft as we should [do] this, in the remembrance of him we should do it: albeit in this point I deem that custom of the church in the which thou art is to be observed for a unity sake; and it is commendable to be received of men fasting, for because of reverence. Certes, the apostles determined of strange beasts and blood to be forsaken. That cannot advance your matter nothing at all: for, alder first[5], that was done for a time, partly that the gospel more speedily might be set forth, partly also lest the Jews might think they were despised, which for the ceremonies of their

The sabbath-day. [Col. ii. 16, 17.]

Whether the Lord's supper ought to be taken fasting.

[3] Apertly behesteth: plainly promiseth.]
[4] At liberty: a question *left open*; "libera," *Lat.*]
[5] Alder first: first of all; "primum enim," *Lat.*]

country and rites eftsoons stored up[1] great controversies: besides that, the apostles in this point decreed no new thing; but a few, and very few, of those ceremonies which were delivered by Moses, by the commandment of God, were retained so long, till a great knowledge of Jesus Christ might transform their minds into the holy liberty. For your cause and theirs is not like: for they in decreeing followed the law of God; you contrary to God's law, and the right holy liberty of Christ, do define things, and ye do draw men into a felonious thraldom, which be made free by the benefit of Christ.

But of the rest, as of the perpetual virginity of Mary, Christ's mother most holiest, and of infants to be baptized and christened, I wonder that Florebell calleth them in doubt; since in the time of our forefathers and of us those questions be diligently confuted, and sith with one word both may be satisfied: for of the continual purity of the body of our lady there is no place in holy scripture that constraineth us to doubt; for, that men do object of the brother of Christ, we must impute it to their ignorance, which, knowing not at all the manner of the Hebrews, do move such light questions. But to bring infants into Christ's religion after the christian usage, is it not evident in the testimony of Christ by express commandment, which commandeth all persons to be baptized, and to be grafted in him? Doth he exclude from those all children? either in the whole is not the part? or, special form in his universal gender contained? Verily, that men once christened ought not to be baptized again, doth not the whole scripture declare, which maketh mention of none that was re-baptized after his fall? No, truly, not Simon thilk soothsayer, whom Peter admonished only for to repent and to pray unto God. And also, do not those words prove sufficiently that we go about, where Paul in his epistle which he wrote unto the Romans saith, those that be baptized in Christ, to die and to be buried? the which thing truly once only to be done, there is none that knoweth it not. Now, if that baptism and washing doth represent unto us death; it is not to be taken again, lest so high

Simon.

[Acts viii. 22.]

[Rom. vi. 4.]

[1] "Turbas concitabant," *Lat.*]

mysteries be confounded. By these allegations, Florebell, as I deem, thou confessest those of thine to be vain and foolish.

But is there any thing else? Yes, verily, he saith there is; for if the church be under this condition, that it may be deceived, all the acts of general councils and decrees may be disannulled and decay. I hear now, thou speakest something that maketh for the purpose. But this also thou shalt understand awhile after to be a trifle: for what sayest thou, Florebell? If the church may err, and be deceived, that all the general acts of councils be of none effect: dost thou not perceive the fault of thy argument? who at any time concluded such an argument, unless he were a sophister and a trifler? Peter erred some [Gal. ii. 14.] time, specially when he was reproved of Paul; therefore have all his acts and decrees taken such a fall, that they may be of none authority in the church? Either, if thou hadst liever, the philosophers in many things were deceived, and might be deceived: for this may we cast away all their doctrine? may we believe them nothing, disputing and teaching of nature, of manners, and of the knowledge to judge an argument in an oration? for they might be deceived, and eftsoons were deceived. How much these be worth, I wot now thou seest.

If that thou seest not, ne understandest as yet, I will speak plainer. The church may be deceived, and then chiefly is beguiled, when she (as the prophet saith) inquireth not at the mouth [Isai. xxx. 2.] of the Lord, that is to say, when she swerveth from the divine scripture; when she setteth not the same before her, as a rule by the which she may measure all decrees and acts, and when she putteth not that same before her as a mark, at the which always we ought to shoot. Certes, when it ensueth the divine discipline, then it wandereth not out of the way, nor erreth, nor is deceived: wherefore neither his acts may be unabled, neither his decrees let slip, neither his judgments abrogated. Right[a] as a judge cannot be deceived, whiles in judgment he followeth the law and the proper sentence of the law; neither a physician ministering a medicine by science; neither a painter obeying the precepts of his craft; whether in painting he imitate and follow the marvellous industry and cunning of Michael Angelo, either Titian: right so the church, if it re-

[a] Right as; just as.

tain the doctrine of the Son of God, and ruleth all things out of the same, shall never err. Wherefore upon wicked and felonious persons[1], as Arius, Macedonius, Eunomius, Sabellius, Manichæus, and such other like, for to be condemned, whatsoever the councils have done and determined, for that they have done things agreeable to the authority of divine scriptures, those may never decay, never be disannulled, or else be made of none effect.

General councils, how they be to be allowed.

Seest thou not, Florebell, both that the church may err, and yet that rightwisely it establisheth, to be firm and inviolable; and that in the church is a rule by the which as well the errors of councils, as also thilk things which they determine godly and holily, may surely be known, discerned, and lightly tried out? But it is well that thou understandest and grantest these thy reasons to be human, that is, false: therefore thou goest unto divine, that is, unto true authorities, and that irefully; although thou didst ween that thou sufferedst wrong of us, which, foregoing the truth, by and by would not grant unto thy treacheries and trifles. But thou wilt say, Whether be these trifles which Christ his self, which his apostles with one assent have taught? No, I say, I affirm that: but I call thilk things trifles, as they be in deed, which thou thinkest to conclude by them. Christ hath promised to abide with the church until the world's end: also, that the Holy Ghost for ever shall dwell with the same. Paul calleth the church the firmament

[1 The date, and character of the system, of each of these heretics is as follows. Arius, A.D. 318, denied the eternal generation of the Son of God from, and his consubstantiality with, the Father. Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, (360), denied the consubstantiality of the Holy Ghost with the Father. The opinions of his followers (who from their opposition to the orthodox doctrine concerning the Holy Ghost were called 'Pneumatomachi',) were condemned by the Council of Alexandria in 362. Eunomius, bishop of Cyzicus, (358), maintained that the Son of God is unlike the Father as to his substance. Sabellius (258) denied the personality of the Son and the Holy Ghost; maintaining that God the Father was himself the Redeemer and Sanctifier of mankind; that the divinity of the Father resided in Jesus Christ, who had no separate existence before his appearance upon earth; and that the Son and Holy Ghost are mere modes or operations of the one only God. (Vid. Riddle's Eccl. Chronol.) The followers of Manichæus, (or rather *Manes*, from A.D. 276 to 602), held the notion of two distinct principles, a good and an evil one, in order to solve the difficulty respecting the origin of evil.]

and pillar of truth. Out of the which thou willest to follow, that the church and the councils may never enlaced be with errors, neither by any means wimpled[2] and detained with them. What shall I here say, but that thou in the scriptures hold no certain sentence? What then, if Christ never forsaketh his church; if with his Spirit continually he governeth it, shieldeth, and advanceth it? whether for that shall we say that he is with his adversary, which hath proclaimed an everlasting war with the church? I have said oft, and have given warning, and again shall give warning, that to be the true church of Christ which retaineth the doctrine of the Son of God and his ceremonies, nor swerveth from them any whit: this church Christ never forsaketh: with this he doth participate the gifts of his Spirit and virtues. This church is the pillar and stable foundation of truth, for because in it soundeth the voice of the Son of God. Yea, this church beareth up Christ himself in manner of a certain pillar; for that Christ is her head, from whom into all the body, in manner as oil did out of the head of Aaron, life, justice, wisdom, peace, health, floweth and springeth. This church erreth not in the total of his doctrine: she falleth not in those things which import eternal damnation. Sooth it is, otherwhiles, that there is a certain rout of men, which in manner of a worldly kingdom doth obtain a certain dominion, and avaunteth itself for the true church; where, for all that, there is nothing farther from the true church than it. This church ofttimes gathereth together councils and congregations of men: many times it judgeth of religion, either of some things controversed. But because it followeth not in judging the sincere doctrine of Christ, as already I have said, but her own commodities, her own riches, and her proper power; it cometh to pass that she falleth into huge and felonious errors: right as it came to pass in the time of Elias, when Jezabel and Ahab waxed cruel upon good folks; and many time also, when the Lord's prophets did judge and teach contrary to the priests, bishops, kings, and against the greatest multitude of the people. What! was not the church of the Jews, which had highest authority, when Christ preached at Jerusalem, entangled with hideous errors, and condemned and drave from place to place and cast out Christ himself and

Elias' time. [1 Kings xxi. 25.]

[2] Wimpled: wrapped, involved.]

his disciples as wicked and seditious persons? What! in the troublesome time of Arius did not the east and the south parts almost all agree together with the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, and also the emperor himself, unto the wicked doctrine of Arius? At the which time only five bishops, being vexed and exiled therefore, did judge aright; and were deemed of that church, which then was falsely called catholick, hereticks, ungodly, and seditious folks. For this, let Florebell tell me where at that time he trowed thilk church to be which cannot err: for those as were in highest authority, as kings, priests, pharisees, magistrates, bishops, emperors, dwelled in error, and pursued the servant of God unto death and confusion. Where therefore was the church hidden? First time, in Helias, in Heliseus, and in thilk seven thousand persons whom God had reserved to himself; at another season, in Jeremiah, Isaiah, and certain other; when Christ came, in Zacharias, Simeon, Joseph, Mary, Elizabeth, and in a few herdsmen of sheep, and in certain other almost of no reputation; in the troublesome time of Arius, in those five bishops, and such as followed them out from the commonalty.

Arius.

Go now thy ways, and declare that thilk church which contendeth for the primacy and hath the worldly dignity (for unto the same I know that thou referrest all thy sayings) may not err, either be seduced at any time; and cease with an unclean mouth and wicked to reprove Christ the Son of God, his apostles, and the Holy Ghost; or rather to condemn them, as though they be untrue and ungodly, because that your goodly church always hath erred, doth err, and perpetually shall err. Not for this[1] we bring in a church like to thilk city of Plato which is fained, either we place the same in some corner, either we affirm so to lie privy that it cannot be found out or looked upon and gone unto; but we shew the same with her evident and manifest signs. Why? be not these full true tokens and right sure marks of the church, the right sincere administration of the doctrine of Christ and his sacraments, the calling upon God through only Jesus Christ, and all the other ministry pertaining to the church, as bishops, pastors, doctors, and such other, whom the Lord Jesus, as Paul witnesseth, hath given unto the church? What is more cer-

[1] Not for this we: we do not therefore, &c.; "non igitur," *Lat.*]

tain than these signs? what thing more clearer? Wheresoever these signs be found, then, whether it be in Grecia, either in Italia, or in Germany, either elsewhere; we doubt not but that same is the true church of Christ, although from thilk same we do not exclude such, whatsoever they be, that judge righteously and according to the same points; albeit through tyranny they cannot have the whole ministry of the church, either, being letted by distance of place, or with other right urgent business may not join themselves bodily with the rest of the church: for this conjunction is of minds and faith, and not of bodies or places.

In sooth, what like thing may ye affirm to have? First, although in word ye say the church to be throughout the world all, yet in deed ye include it at Rome and in the only pope. If that it please you to dilate the same further, ye stretch it unto cardinals and bishops, albeit the matter so always cometh about, that all things must be referred unto the pope: it is necessary that all things stand or else decay at his appointment. Moreover[2], ye retain the pure doctrine of Christ, neither observe any sacraments after the right christian manner, neither do ye exercise evangelical preachers, or any other ministration of that true ancient and apostolical church. As concerning the rest which thou art able by speaking many things to reckon, as that many unclean and damnable persons is contained in this church, which we behold as it were fishes of all sorts in a fisher's trunk or willo; and that also the company and fellowship of the elects doth ask with continual prayers of God forgiveness of their uncleanness; and that the divine gifts be neither void ne vain by the unworthiness of the ministers, so that they teach those things which be contained in holy writings; and that it behoveth sects to be in the church, to the end that such as have abiden in the truth being proved may be saved;—I say, that if thou lookest that I should answer to all those things, thou art greatly deceived; for I suppose verily that thou art not ignorant, since herein we agree with thee: then all these same things may be applied upon us right wisely. Wherefore I intend not to follow this thy vain

[2 "*Neither* ye retain," is required both by the sense, and the Latin, "neque retinetis."]

labours, but only to note briefly the points of thy arguments, and, without vain rehearsal of them, to refute them. And yet within a while after I will come unto thilk thine enumeration of heretics; then truly after, thy faults shall by me be discussed.

And first forward, that thou sayest that all churches were in much tranquillity and peace until one Luther sprang, which troubled so great peace of Christ's name, and did break the unity; dost thou not understand that thou objectest that thing to Luther which was areted[1] to Elias, to Jeremiah, to Esaias, and unto other right holy prophets always, and afterward unto Christ and his disciples? for always they were both accounted and called peace-breakers, beginners of all tumults, seditious fellows, covoiters of newelties, and busy bodies. Why, was not this the old complaint of the Romans, which imputed every evil they feeled to Christ's doctrine? against the which complaints St Augustine, in his books *de Civitate Dei*, disputeth very abundantly and eloquently. But Florebell saith, God is the author of peace, and not of dissension. I grant; but of what kind of peace? Of thilk, or no, which the world hath accustomed to give, and that is found eftsoons among evil and ungracious persons? No; if we believe Christ, which confesseth verily himself to give peace unto his meyney[2], and as it were to leave it by will to them, but such an one as the world may not give, divine and heavenly: by the which, first, the minds be made quiet against the dreads of sin, death, and hell: besides this, the consent of one faith, religion, and doctrine of the gospel, bringeth this peace. This is the concord, the charity, the peace and tranquillity, which Christ commended unto us, which he left us, by the which he willeth his disciples to be known. If that thou wouldest pluck me from this peace, then Christ himself testifieth that he was come to set betwixt us not peace, but war; and, that nature seemeth to abhor, he came to separate the father from the son, the brother from the brother, the son-in-law from the father-in-law, and the daughter-in-law from the stepmother. Wherefore what marvel is it, if in times past all things seemed full of peace and tran-

[1] Areted to: imputed to, alleged against.]
[2] Meyney, *or*, meiny: household.]

quillity in the church, when all things were under antichrist and vain superstition; and since Christ returned and his verity, every thing began to be troubled? for "when a strong man armed keepeth his palace, all things be in peace which he possesseth: but when a stronger than he cometh," then riseth at length a fierce conflict, for that the former man seeth himself shortly to be spoiled of all those things, which heretofore violently he possessed: for by this similitude God hath set before our eyes thilk peace of the world and his battle, that is to say, of ungodliness with godliness[3], of superstition with religion, and his disagreement with antichrist.

Austin Mainard.

Augustin Mainard, whose wisdom and learning, adjoined with a singular modesty, all Italy wondered at, when at certain times he was wont to preach at Bonony, he moved thereby somewhat the citizens. There was at that time a certain man called Calistus, a monk, which when he had accused Mainard of heresy (as this kind of folk are accustomed to do) unto the pope's vicar, this vicar caused Augustin to be cited, that he might hear before him the cause why Calistus accused him. When they came both before him, Calistus spake in this wise: 'I cannot marvel enough, right reverend master, that whereas I have preached unto divers people divers sermons nigh hand these thirty years, yet I never troubled the auditors, neither stirred up any commotion or debate. But this man, (beholding grimly Mainard,) if either once or twice he cometh into a pulpit, it is a wonder what strife and murmur he exciteth; so that some men the pope, and some the gospel, I wot not what, will defend. Wherefore I can none otherwise guess with myself than that he is infected with some spoke of this new learning.' Unto this Augustin with a sober spirit, as he is always of, answered: 'This,' said he, 'the prophets which were before Christ, this Christ himself, this his apostles could not glory of: wherefore I perceive thou art more happier than all these, Calistus; but it shameth me nothing to be accounted among them, and to be partaker of this unwellefulness[4] with them, which also shall receive part of their felicity.' And in this manner that wise man assuaged the

Calistus.

[3] MS. *ungodliness;* but the Latin is, "impietate cum pietate."]

[4] Unwellefulness, *or*, unwelefulness: unhappiness. From *wele*, prosperity.]

outrage of the man and satisfied the judge, which was a wonder. And if that thou also mightest be contented by the like means, I am glad; but if it may not be, I am sorry.

But our adversary gabbeth[1], 'Luther, Zuinglius, and such others like, hath replenished all places with flames of fire, with manslaughters, robberies of churches, with unlawful carnal copulations, crimes.' What sayest thou, Florebell? who shewed thee this? 'I have seen,' saith he, 'the remnants of a most cruel battle which was fought with a tyrannical fierceness, when the last summer I took my journey through the Helvetians: whereby also I became very sorry, when I saw everywhere the decay of churches and holy houses; when I beheld the images of all saints abolished; when I saw lying down, trod and broken off, that most holiest cross, the monuments everywhere which had borne Christ dying for our salvation. What form was then there? how hideous! how horrible was it in my sight! where, a great while beholding, I could nowhere espy any token of an altar, no vestment, none ornament, no light; finally, nothing like a church besides the roof and the walls and a few settels; so that I dare say that the temples of the cruel barbarous nations have more semblant of religion.'

And in all these things he is not ashamed to call God to witness in swearing that he feigneth ne augmenteth aught. O whorish unshamefacedness! But what may a man do unto that person which followeth the father of lies? for what burnings hath our nation meddled withal? what slaughters have they done? with what unlawful delights, either wicked lechery, are they distained withal? I pray thee, transport not the proper doing of your Jezabel unto Elias and such as be blameless. Who knoweth not that the pope, with many wicked persons hired by him thereto, would have destroyed with fire a great part of Germany? he attempted it, and in many places brought it to pass. Certes, who but the pope stored up mutual manslaughters, wars against cities, peoples, and princes, as he at this time, usurping the power of kings and sovereign emperors, and joining his hosts with theirs, supporteth a wicked war and bringeth in most unjust weapons upon right just men, which have done much good

[1 Gabbeth: prateth.]

for christian religion? But he that desireth to know the outrages of bodily lusts and all kind of unbridled delights of the flesh, let him go to Rome, and let him be conversant in the colleges of your women and men which be unmarried: let him mark your priests, and he shall find that his eyes, of their own accord, will abhor ne cannot abide. There is truly in those churches and cities which have desired the old liberty of the gospel, power to marry granted to them all by the commandment of God, that such as cannot live chaste might enter into the holy bond of marriage: but none is hereto compelled; unlawful copulations either whoredoms none be committed; no priests slain; none be exiled, but which or be seditious; either by their own accord, through the hate of true religion, were willing to depart away.

That thou sayest the Helvetians kept war with a barbarous fierceness, thou declarest thy wrath towards that nation, which is full strong and gentle; neither only thine, but also of all thy sort, that is, of papists. And in this I see thee to reprove the Bernates' princes and their people, than the which nothing may be found out more kinder, more merciful, more holier, nothing more earnester for to set forth the sincere religion of Christ. Verily that war which they of long continuance kept against Geneva, next little kingdom unto them; that was taken in hand of them by great necessity and right, and fought with great equity, and brought to an end with a wonderful felicity and curtesy; so that in the same a man might have perceived, partly, a certain divine clemency of thilk princes, either rather a godliness; but chiefly, the will and providence of God Almighty. They cast down images, altars, crosses, and whatsoever was set forth to superstition and false religion, I grant: and in this doing they obeyed to the law of God, and did the duty of good princes, and delivered the people from vain superstition. But thou wouldest have churches well furnished with altars, pictures, and sumptuous images, garnished with vestments, vessels gold, and precious stones, avanced[2] with lights and tapers, with a huge many of priests for to sound out with howlings which men understand not, with singsters and instruments of organs. But these manner of churches, men's minds which

[2 "Illustrata," *Lat.*]

be endued with true religion, understand that these belong not to the godliness of Christians, but unto the old superstition of heathens; neither that such be the temples of the true and immortal God, but rather of the gods of feigned antiquity; whose foolish, old, and ungodly superstition you cannot deny but that ye follow. And, albeit that may be plain enough unto thee by the divine writ all those things to be vain and ungodly, yet if thou hadst either read Lactantius, or believed him when thou hadst read him, thou wouldst never have spoken ne set forth such fond and unsembly things.

Lactantius.

Now as touching the Tigurines, of whom thou makest mention; who knoweth not that thilk battle was attempted and done, the pope being author and factor thereof; as I may pass over others, which devised for to abuse the Lucernats, being good and quiet men, to his purpose for to subvert the gospel? Wherefore let the fetys[1] fellow cease, which deemeth himself to be the flower of Italy, to call people and cities barbarous, which be instituted with right good laws and customs, and endued with true religion; lest he may be seen to speak more for hatred and envy of the country, than of equity. Verily, that thou advancest with a plain seditious and unfaithful oration the one part of the Helvetians which as yet hath not coupled him with his neighbours in one manner of religion, thou lesest thy labour; for at length, as they be now men both wise and loving of the truth, they shall understand both this religion to be true, and that you do nothing else than lie in wait to deceive them of their liberty.

But now I return a little while unto those thy words, by the which thou tellest when thou didst write them, that the summer past thou madest thy journey through Helvetia. I marvel that thou, being a man learned and given to the studies of religion, didst not desire no company of learned men, which everywhere there in towns and cities do preach and teach the gospel; for I doubt not but that thou camest from Lugdune, first to have come to Geneva, afterward to Lausanne, and then to Berna, and Tigur: the which if thou hadst done, thou shouldest have known the quick judgment of Calvin, the copy of Viretus, the gravity of Sulcer, the flower of

[1] Fetys, or fetise: spruce, fine; "bellus," *Lat.* with an allusion to the name of *Florebell.*]

Bullinger, in discussing of matters; and among all men thou shouldest have perceived learning, humanity, and a singular godliness. Truly thou wouldest have been so moved with the sight and learning of so many men, that either thou wouldest have cast away thy book, neither put him forth at all; other else, if thou hadst determined to set him forth, I cannot doubt but thou wouldest have stricken out innumerable things that thou thyself shouldest have found partly false and unsembly, partly plain wicked and felonious. But, of myself I speak nothing, unto whom thou mightest a little turned out of thy way, as unto a man of Italy and almost thy countryman, and certainly thy friend, and used one hostelry[2] and fellowship with me as long as it should please thee. And although in this thou hast done amiss, it may be hereafter amended; for it may be leful for thee, when thou wilt, to resort unto us (the which I exhort thee heartily to do for God's sake, and for this wellbeloved truth sake, which I doubt not thou seekest after), and freely to reason and lovingly to dispute with us of the questions of religion.

I now come to that thine argumentation of the church, which thou trowest no man is able to dissolve, albeit I am ashamed to entreat of one thing so oft, and (as the old saw goeth) to do a thing already done[3]; for thou askest, Whether there were any church before Luther's time, or no? And to whichsoever we make answer, thou warrantisest thyself to have the upward hand; for if we shall say that there was none, then thou deemest all the behests of God and Christ to have been frustrate. The which thing because it may not be, it is necessary that there was a church; but since it was not the congregation of Luther, you will compel us to believe that thilk same hath been the true church of Rome. Natheless, if we will grant that there was a church, but a small one of number, then also thou demandest where be become the promises of God made of the church that was to come, which should be unmeasurable in the circuit of countries, and almost infinite in number of men. Thou

[2] Hostelry: hospitality.]

[3] Præposteris enim utimur consiliis, et acta agimus: quod vetamur vetere proverbio. Cic. de Amic. cxxii. Ohe, 'Actum,' aiunt, 'ne agas.' Terent. Phorm. Act. II. Sc. ii. 71.]

bringest many other points to confirm this sentence, the which every one shall fall and be of none effect, by the examination of those things which before I have put forth.

But go on, I pray thee, Chrysippus, which with so sharp a judgment hast proposed a doubtful argument.—Now I make thee answer, and I say the church always to have been, to be, and for ever to remain: but whether it were a lythe[1] one or no, I dare not affirm; for it was as great as God would it to be. Thou hast examples set before thine eyes heretofore by me of the times of Elias, Jeremiah, Christ, and Arius, when that which most of all seemed to be the church was not, and that which appeared least of all was the true church. By thilk examples and such like, learn to judge aright of the church: certes thou shalt judge aright, if thou wilt measure and deem it not by the multitude either fewness of folk, not by the pomp and ornaments, neither by the opinions of men, but by the full sincere word of God, by the right evident places of scripture. Verily, where thou allegest the church to be unmeasurable in circuit and almost innumerable in number, I fear lest thou do not understand it; for I take that to have this meaning, that it be said unmeasurable in circuit, because it is not included alone in the nation of the Jews, but it may be extended and shall be extended into all lands and coasts of the world. Also, it is infinite in number, partly for the self-same reason, partly also that, albeit we do not for the most part know that infiniteness; yet it is so great, that it passeth all men's imagination; as in the time of Jezabel Elias thought that he alone remained which worshipped God righteously; where, for all that, in the same place God had reserved to himself seven thousand persons, that is, a certain innumerable multitude of men. Wherefore, although the church appear small in number, it is not by and by to be counted small; albeit, as I have said, this maketh nought to the purpose, sith it is sufficient to uphold and believe that thilk holy church may never decay: therefore thou seest that thy argumentation is dissolved, and altogether that which thou hast objected falleth away; if there were a church, whether it could know the other to err: if she had knowledge, why did she not give warning unto the other, and shew the errors? For

[1] Lythe: small, humble; "exigua," *Lat.*

although the church, being oppressed with tyranny, sometimes lieth hid;—the which thing John, that right great prophet, very well hath declared, where he sheweth a woman (that woman is the church), for fear of the bloody dragon (which is antichrist embrued with the blood of saints), to be kept in the [Rev. xii. 6.] wilderness by the benefit of God until a certain season;—but algates the church ofttimes lieth privy, yet God suffereth no long space of time nor age of man's life to pass away without the trump and sound of his word, as the said prophet expresseth; for always he storeth up one other Elias, which doth admonish miswanderers from true religion, and goeth about to reduce them into the way. If ye would have known them, they were thilk which in the council at Constantine[2] ye condemned, and unfaithfully murdered, with all those as followed them; as Gerson, that was a man of Paris; Valla a Roman; Jerome of Ferrara; Marsilius of Batavy; and other innumerable were trumpets of the gospel; as I may pass over those which now of days with so clear a voice and with so great spirit do blow the trumpets of the gospel, that the noise of them and the immortal harmony must needs be heard from the very uttermost stronds[3] both of sea and earth. But at these high voices, at these clamours and cries, at these so clear testimonies, ye stop your ears, in manner of a certain serpent, lest ye might forego aught of your pleasures, riches and power. Ye are deaf; and, that is worst of all, ye hear evil. But, O ye wretches, God will move ye shortly together, and steare[4] you to hear with another manner grievouser trumpet. But let my oration return hither from whence it hath declined.

At the last Florebell asketh: If there were any church besides that Romish, who, since the time that men have swerved from the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles, was ruler of the church, who hath been chief head upon the earth of the people of God, sith it is needful that always there be one which must rule the church and govern her? but, not such a one to be, he saith it is against both God's laws and man's constitutions. O blindness greater than was in the Egyptians! no, rather this Florebell was somewhat deaf, but now he is blind. Come off now: if thou seest not, Antony, I will give to thee this ruler

[2 Constantine: Constance.] [3 "Pagis," *Lat.*]
[4 Steare: stir; "excitabit," *Lat.*]

and bishop of the church to be handled of thee, for as yet he liveth. Behold thou Paul, which teacheth Christ to be the ruler and head of his church. And him (he saith) "he gave to be head above all things unto the church, which is his body, and the fulness of him that filleth all in all things." Moreover, he saith, "he that descended is even the same also that ascended up, even above all heavens, to fulfil all things. And the very same made some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some shepherds, and some teachers, that the saints might have all things necessary to work and minister withal, to the edifying of the body of Christ, till we every one in the unity of faith and knowledge of the Son of God grow unto a perfect man, after the measure of age of the fulness of Christ: that we henceforth be no more children wavering and carried with every wind of doctrine, by the wiliness of man and craftiness, whereby they lay await for us to deceive us. But let us follow the truth in love, and in all things grow in him which is the head, that is to say Christ, in whom all the body is knit and coupled together in every joint, wherewith one ministereth to another, according to the operation as every part hath his measure, and increaseth the body unto the edifying of itself in love." Doth not he here seem to thee to be a very great bishop, and, as it is written unto the Hebrews, the chiefest ruler of the house of God, which also ordaineth many other to govern the church, lest he might be thought to be absent from his church? And herewithal Paul admonisheth us to retain him alone, to ensue his doctrine which continually is present with his church, which ruleth, and with holy laws governeth and increaseth her, which he hath caused to be written, and with his holy Spirit: and that they ought to be compared unto children which in this point doubt, which believe any other doctrine, any other laws and decrees, any other head, ruler, and high bishop, to serve unto salvation, besides only Jesus Christ. Thou seest that here is no mention made of any one bishop upon the earth, which ought to be higher in dignity than all the rest, and ought to be called greatest, either most sovereignest. Why is it that he hath promised himself to be present with his church unto the world's end, as thou already ofttimes hast specified, but now not remembering the same, thou seekest another governor? Weenest

Christ is the head of the church.

[Eph. i. 22, 23.]

[Eph. iv. 10—16.]

thou that Christ with his congregation is idle; and as the Epicureans do grant, that there be gods, but that they regard not worldly affairs nor things; right so, thou confessest Christ to be with the church for ever, but yet neither to govern nor care for her; therefore ought there to be supplied in his room some other high bishop, which presently may rule her?

But among the Hebrews (quoth he), which be inferiors unto Christians both in number and dignity, God willed one bishop to have rule over them, unto whom all controversies and doubtful causes might be referred, whose judgments and determinations it was not lawful to break or improve. I hear thee: but the epistle which is written unto the Hebrews putteth away this reason: first, that therefore bishops were created the one to succeed the other, for that by death they were letted to continue; but this our Jesus Christ shall remain our bishop for ever: for this he concludeth that there ought none other to be put in his stead. Besides this, that high bishop of theirs was necessary for to renew their sacrifices, which signified Christ: now sith there be no sacrifices to put away sins (for with one only sacrifice that high bishop Christ hath cleansed all sins), we have no need of a worldly bishop, either of any other sovereign priest besides Christ. [Heb. vii. 23.]

But as concerning that belongeth unto the dignity of christian people, doth it not seem thee that they are excellently provided for? since we may perceive that the bishops of the Jewish people were in the house of God servants, mortal, unclean, and bound to sins; but our high bishop, Jesus Christ the Son of God, to be the everlasting Lord, pure, innocent, and at no time defiled with any spot of sin; as the said epistle testifieth.—But truly, Florebell, so wouldest thou the kingdom of heaven, the church of Christ, to be ruled as these earthly kingdoms and imperies be; but what Christ answered to such as then coveted the like kingdom, hearken: "The kings of the heathen folk," saith he, "have such dominion and kingdom upon their people as ye desire to have, but it shall not be so among you: but who that among you willeth to be made great, let him be your minister; and he that coveteth to be chiefest, let him be your servant." And the same he that was true King of kings confirmed by his own example; that albeit he was Lord and Master, yet [Luke xxii. 25, 26.]

he behaved himself more humbly than any servant. But this your bishop reckoneth it enough, if he name himself "the servant of servants," when, for all that, in deed he will be and accounted the lord of lords.—That thou also affirmest this primacy of one certain bishop to have always been allowed by councils, by sentences of ancient doctors, by the consent of many ages; all this, in comparison unto the majesty and authority of the divine scriptures, is of none effect, nor able to stand. Wherefore it is to no purpose, if I should spend my labour in refuting the same in vain.

For this[1], Florebell, thou hast a high bishop and ruler of the church, such a one peradventure as thou soughtest not after: believe that he hath governed his church, yea, sith the time that the tyranny of the pope began to rise. If that thou hadst liever to have the pope, hold him to thyself: only Jesus Christ is sufficient for us, whom God the Father hath given to u or ever. Of truth we admit gladly all other persons, which after the manner of the apostles be put in authority over the congregations, upon this condition yet and law, that they bring us the pure doctrine, and every man, being contented with his place appointed, do not look to be superior to [1 Pet. v. 3.] the others; and, after the saying of Peter, let them exercise in the congregation of God no dominion.

The cause why we come not to general councils.

Here a reason might be made to thee of me, why we come not unto those your general councils, and why we will not stand to those things which in such councils be decreed. But forasmuch as other men have right well made answer to all these things, I will in few here answer thee. Grant us a council to be where Christ with his disciples may sit as judge, and not the pope with his flatterers; I mean, where sentences may be given by holy scriptures, and not by man's constitutions: appoint us some sure and free place to come unto, where the practice of your council of Constantine might not be dreaded, in the which council ye murdered two witnesses of the Lord, by a common assent, for their open faith sake; and ye shall understand, that we will never hide ourselves, nor refuse the authority of councils. Not that the doctrine of Christ, which we preach and teach, needeth the approbation of any council, either man: but only that the

[1 "Igitur." *Lat.*]

expectation of weaklings might be satisfied in this point, and that a common unity might be had, if it were by any means possible. But as long as such councils be, as of late the council of Tridentine was; think not us to be so foolish, that we will commit our lives unto your faithfulness, which so oft already ye have lost and broken; and to put in your hands that is more to be had in estimation than our life, the word of God and the heavenly doctrine: for we ought to fear lest that old proverb might be applied to us, 'Thou hast joined a sheep with a wolf.'

But, as I may conclude this place of the church and of her authority; I think I have declared sufficiently, what is the true church, and from whence she hath her authority. For if that be the true church which is ruled and governed by the word of God, which is written to us by the apostles, and retaineth the true use of sacraments; and if the church hath none authority in things belonging unto salvation, unless it may be proved by holy writ that she allegeth; then our adversary's arguments be all put clean away, and the true church and her true authority is declared; for then the church hath equal authority with the gospel, when the gospel is declared by the church, and the church by the gospel, in this wise that one helpeth that other, and be knit together in friendship, as Horace hath said right elegantly of nature and art[2].

Now I descend unto that other part, which containeth certain common places; in the which our adversary saith we dissent from the church. Come on, Florebell: with what church sayest thou that we dissent? for if it be with her of whom no rather[3] I made mention, which maintaineth nought but sincere religion, not meddled with man's decrees; with her in no point we disagree, but her we follow the mistress of verity, teaching nothing but that she hath taught us before out of the right clear fountains of divine scriptures. But if thou meanest that we dissent from that church, that would

[2 "Natura fieret laudabile carmen, an arte,
Quæsitum est. Ego nec studium sine divite vena
Nec rude quid possit video ingenium: alterius sic
Altera poscit opem res, et conjurat amicè."
Hor. Ars Poet. 408—11.]

[3 "Cujus modò feci mentionem," *Lat.*]

have her decrees and inventions to be accounted for God's oracles, which commonly men clepe the Romish church; what wonder is it if we disagree in those things with her, in which she disagreeth, with so great temerity, from the word of God? —For as first we may speak briefly of the Lord's supper.

Barenger. Thou sayest that we follow a man called Barenger, which do deny that bread and wine after the consecration to be turned into any other nature: in the which point thou affirmest that we speak both against the right manifest words of Christ, and also the judgments of ancient doctors. I might, if I would, Florebell, as other men have done before me, shew the contrary out of the same doctors which thou namest; but it is no need; neither also I have not so much leisure at this time, sith as thou sayest the words of Christ instituting the sacrament be right plain and evident, that they require not neither the interpretation of any man, neither authority.—I pray thee, Florebell, put before thine eyes awhile Christ ordaining this mystery and entreating thereupon, if it is lawful to see these things in mind, as it were, presently. Christ taketh in his hands bread which was upon the table; Christ giveth his disciples thilk same bread: Christ, whiles he giveth the bread, speaketh. Tell me, I desire thee, whiles the disciples eat this bread, chaw it with their teeth, and swallow it down into their stomach, where was Christ? was he not sitting at the table? did not his apostles behold him before them? did they not hear him speaking and right lovingly giving them advertisements? In whether of those two places was the body of Christ: whether under the teeth of his disciples, other else where they both saw and heard Christ? If it was under their teeth, then it was not where they saw it: but if it was where they saw it, then it was not under the teeth, either within the bodies, of his disciples. For, whether of two you do grant, that other thou must needs deny. If thou wilt say that he was in both places, now this followeth,—either that Christ had two bodies, or that there were two Christs, or else that it was a ghost which they thought themselves to see Christ, and that so the disciples were deceived. The which things be so foul and so strange from the nature of Christ, that a man's mind doth abhor to hear them: but the words selfs be plain; in the which things that be sensible

The institution of the Lord's supper, and the understanding thereof.

do signify truly those which, in mind and religion by faith be comprehended. I grant Christ to have given his body, and his disciples to have received the same, not after a natural fashion, but supernatural; that is, after a heavenly and divine sort.

Dost thou deny the bread to be the body of Christ? I do not deny it, but confess the bread to be the body of Christ, not through any alteration of nature, but under verity of religion and of mysteries. Neither Christ himself by those words (as I have declared) minded to shew any commutation of natures, as which said the bread to be his body, and not to be changed into his body; and when he said that, he was present sitting at the table with them: neither the holy writer of the history understood any commutation of natures when he did say, "He took bread, he gave thanks, he brake it and gave it." Whether seemed he not by that circumstance of words to go about to put away all doubtfulness, lest we should think any miracle or wonder to be in this thing? What, I pray thee, took he but bread? what brake he but bread? what gave he but bread? for because that he took, he brake; and that he brake, he gave. But for that they be mysteries which be done, therefore they contain high and divine things; the which the very words and holy sayings of this our Melchisedec, both the priest and the Son of God Almighty, do lightly notify: "This is my body," saith he, "that is given for you; do ye this in remembrance of me." And likewise of the cup of wine: "This cup is the new testament through my blood which is shed for you." The which words, what mean they? what contain they? what signify they? Truly no wonderful thing, but the sum of our salvation, and a full certain testimony thereof, which by the death of Christ we have obtained; as it were[1] that right sovereign priest, and thilk same most acceptable host[2] unto the Father, did speak unto his disciples in this wise: 'What thing here be done, right dear beloved disciples, ye see; I receive bread from the table, I give thanks unto my Father for his goodness, I break it in pieces, I distribute unto every one of you his portion. Also I reach unto you the cup, that of it drink all: certainly you take, eat, and drink it

[1 As if; "quasi," *Lat.*]

[2 "Idemque gratissima patri victima," *Lat.*]

reverence as it becometh you. All these things, I say, after what manner they be done, you yourself openly perceive, and taste: therefore these cannot be unknown unto you, for that these be subject unto your senses: but all this could do you no good, except ye know for what purpose they were ordained. And for this, receive ye a short declaration of this mystery, and shut up the same now, not in the foreign senses of the body, but in the inward parts of your mind; for it is no trifling matter. Certes, I give now unto you bread and a cup, as ye do see: but if ye be my true disciples, if ye believe me, think also, for the love and zeal I bear unto you, I give to you this my body which you behold eke with your eyes, and blood: that being refreshed with this heavenly bread and drink, ye may have everlasting life. And as ye may understand all the whole thing the better, and may perceive my love towards you, immediately I will give this my body for to be slain, and this blood to be shed; and that for you and many others, to the intent the Father, being reconciled by this liberal sacrifice, might forgive you your sins, for the which, death and eternal punishments were due. Therefore understand ye, that this is the new covenant and the very testament eftsoons promised in the prophets, which is now confirmed, not by the blood of beasts, but by the shedding of my blood. Wherefore, observe ye this right and holy manner, and the mystery of so high thing, in your assemblies together continually, with such godliness and religion as is meet for you; that both the memory of me may be always with you, and thanks be given to the Father, and ye be enkindled by this so great example of mine, one to love another.' This is the sentence[1] of that institution and of those words, not far fet, either transported; but borne out of the thing itself, and of the proper nature of the mystery.

Thus the fathers, as well Greeks as Latins, have judged. Whether there is no cause[2] why that thou shouldst object against us the controversies of some of our own congregation in this point: for all they have maintained the chief and sum of this thing, and have agreed upon the same. If that there were [illegible] contentions and discord, it was for certain other causes, which, [illegible] ceive, thou dost not well understand: for neither Lu-

[illegible] Sentence: meaning; "sententia," *Lat.*]

[illegible] "Nec est quod," *Lat.*]

ther at any time, yea, after this your consecration, denied it to be natural bread; nor Zuinglius, either Œcolampadius, to be the body of Christ. But, in this consisted all the controversy, what manner of body and blood doth consist in? And because thou sayest there can be no surer token of their ungodliness than such contentions, I confess verily that contentions and strifes ought to be eschewed, specially in religion; but that those always be tokens of ungodliness, I deny; for it may so be that they which contend, both parts may do it for the glory of God, neither judge any thing against religion. What manner of contention was betwixt Paul and Barnabas, which, as Luke testifieth, waxed so fervent, that they which by the inspiration and commandment of Christ were joined together in commission to set forth the gospel, in that contention did depart the one from the other? But if this do not satisfy, behold thou the two lanterns of the Latin church, Jerome and Austin[3], among whom arose so great contention of the simulation of Peter, that, if thou peruse over the epistles which one did write unto the other, a man might scarcely believe it to be possible, that those were written of so great men, and so famous in learning and godliness of living. Wherefore it is not to be wondered at, if among us also contentions and debates do arise of the places and words of scripture, so that neither side fall not from the faith of Christ, either from the sum of religion. But if the ungodliness and inconstancy of doctrine of any church be to be reproved for divers and full oft wicked contentions, and brawls always most vainest; where may a man find at any time more, where greater, where more bitterer, than in the church of Rome; in the which for these five hundred years or more there was not any doctor either writer, which did agree with the rest? insomuch that religious persons, every one of them following the inconstancy of their doctors, made eftsoons a place for that old saw of the poet to be applied, 'Wisdom is taken away from men, and the matter handled with violence.' If that the sects of the Anabaptists began to spring at such time also as the evangelical doctrine came again unto us, Luther, nor none other that did endeavour to spread abroad Christ's doctrine, ought to be blamed therefore in any wise; for when were they [illegible]

Wherein Luther, Œcolampadius, and Zuinglius, dissented.

[Acts xv. 39.]

[3] August. Op. Par. 1836. Tom. II. Epist. lx.

ungodly folk stored up, than when the most sincerest doctrine of Christ began first of the apostles to be published, and a little while after them, by others? for so it is ordained by nature, that right as with the good corn naughty cockle and barren weeds do spring together, so with the true and holy doctrine great abundance of heresies and lies do arise, verily not through the fault of the verity, but by the envy of the enemy of mankind, which goeth about to suppress the truth which groweth abroad. Also, if that princes and cities have fought against those Anabaptists, it was for that they first began the war not only against the gospellers, but against all magistrates they stored up every where sedition. Therefore they were to be suppressed and to be reformed, not alone for religion sake, if they had any hid in their mind, but for sedition. But I marvel that thou imputest that battle a fault to the Germans, which was accomplished with great praise and virtue by a common assent and aid, both of the pope's side and adherents, as of ours. Truly thus men are wont to do, that seek all means to hurt and to reprove: but hereof I have said enough.

Let us now briefly consider other matters, lest I might be seen to go about to repeat those things, which of our men already have been written copiously, discreetly, and distinctly, as concerning this. And that our people teach of the right certain providence of God, and of our full great imbecility for to do good and for to perform God's commandments, and of such other high matters, those be most agreeable unto the divine scriptures. I pray thee, what else teacheth Paul than all things to be made, done, and administered by the right certain purpose, strength and decree of the will of God? Who can avoid the purpose of God? Who may escape his strength? Who is able to change his will? Neither, verily, when this is said of us, either we reject the cause of sin [illegible] other else do renew the stoical destiny; but we [illegible] what the power is of God's providence, and of his [illegible] decree out of the secret scriptures, that the glory of [illegible] be conserved upright. The question of necessity [illegible] so hard indeed, as it seemeth, if we separate a [illegible] providence from our will; and do say all things [illegible] if we regard the purpose or providence

of God; but if the same be referred unto our will, we do work then freely and of our own accord. Neither it is no inconvenient thing, truly, either reproach, to call thilk strength of God's providence a destiny, which from ever hath been, is, and shall be true; the which word St Austin[1] refuseth not to use, so that it be well understanded; for I believe there is no apter word in Latin for to express that men call predestination; for providence signifieth rather a certain purveyance and administration of those things which be included in destiny. Therefore let this be persuaded to all men, that God is the Lord and ruler of all things, and such things as be done, to be done through his dominion and power; and that he doth always good for mankind, and never evil; and whatsoever man he be, what he worketh, whatsoever he alloweth with himself, with what mind, with what godliness he observeth religion, let him think that God hath a respect and care both of the godly and of the wicked people. Nor in sooth any man may think otherwise, except he that supposeth no heavenly power either God to be. But how great the infirmity of man's will is, thou mightest even by those sentences learn, which testify that we by nature are unclean and turned from God, and that we are not able of ourselves to will any thing which is holy and pure, much less we have power to accomplish it, except God by his holy Spirit put in us good thoughts, and heal and help our wills, and give us strength to perform. Thou mightest gather the same of Austin, and of other ancient doctors of the church; and not ascribe it unto Wickliff either Valla. Now, if in this case or in any other some of our side have amended ought; they be no more to be reproved of inconstancy than the said Austin, which hath written a book of Retractions[2] also, in the which he correcteth and changeth himself full often. If that the latter sentence be better than the first, thou oughtest to commend it; but if it be worser, to reprove it; and not generally to condemn the amendment without exception.

God hath a respect of the godly and of the ungodly.

But in that thou sayest us to teach the authority of the church to be neglected, which do preach no kind [illegible] to be forsaken, verily not in the prescribed [illegible]

[1] August. de Predestinatione et Gratia, cap. 1 et [illegible]

[2] Retractationum Libri II. quorum in alt[illegible] quos scripsit nondum episcopus;" in altero, "[illegible] copus." August. Op. Par. 1836, Tom. I. [illegible]

church of Rome: we may lightly contemn that, which have Paul the apostle for our author. And as I may join two places together, which thou allegest against us, the same Paul coupleth with that I have said before such as forbid all kind of meats and marriage, and saith that they are driven with evil spirits. For where he writeth unto his friend Timothy, he prophesieth in this wise of the later times: "The spirit speaketh evidently, that in the later times some shall depart from the faith, and shall give heed to spirits of error and devilish doctrine, of them which speak false through hypocrisy, and have their consciences marked with an hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving of them which believe and know the truth: for all the creatures of God are good, and nothing to be refused, with us received with a thankful mind to God-ward." But in thy judgment they be of Jovinian's sect and Epicureans, divines that take away the difference of meats, that approve the marriage of priests and of others that be appointed to minister in the church, and improve[1] the unmarried state of living. Then Paul is a Jovinian, and Epicurean, which willeth it to be free to eat any kind of meat, and which doth not only condemn such as forbid marriage, but also commandeth bishops, priests, and others that be called to ministration of the church, to be married. And because thou art not abashed to affirm the brotherhoods of unmarried folk to have been instituted in the apostles' times; whether commanded not the same Paul Timothy, not to admit the younger women unto those brotherhoods, but only old wives of threescore years of age? He willeth the younger women to marry and to bring forth children, to govern the house in due ministration. Where be these abbeys of monks and nuns ordained in the apostles' times? [illegible], for this, will not be wiser than Basil[2] either Chry-

[1 Tim. iv. 1—4.]

Of the marriage of priests.

[1 Tim. iv. 3.] [Tit. i. 6.]

[1 Tim. [illegible]]

[1] Improve: disapprove of: "improbant," *Lat.*]

[2] Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς, κηδόμενος τῆς ἡμῶν [illegible] εἰς [illegible] βίους τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαγωγὴν, συζυγίαν [illegible] ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ὑπενεγκεῖν τὸν τῆς παρθενίας [illegible] γυναικὸς, ἐκεῖνο εἰδὼς, ὡς ἀπαιτηθήσεται [illegible] καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν συζυγίαις καὶ [illegible] Basil. Op. Par. 1722. De Renun-

sostom[3]; yea, we dare not be of more wisdom than the apostle and the Holy Ghost. Neither we do not disallow the unmarried life, but the filthy life; neither to be without a wife, but to be without shame; neither pure chastity, but this unclean virginity.

Of fasting.

After this, whereas thou sayest that we take fasting clean away, if thou intendest to say truth, thou wouldest not thus have spoken: for none of us have taken away either fasting or abstinence, but permit them to be free, which do know that christian people be free from such ceremonies, and that they ought not to be bound unto those things by no laws, from the which Christ hath enfranched us: albeit the pope, as in forbidding marriage, likewise in commanding fastings, following the ungodly and wicked person Montan, hath established laws of fastings, and hath bound those fastings unto prescribed days almost innumerable, under the pain also (as men call it) of deadly sin. But we do not take away fastings indeed, but also exhort daily all men to the same, not unto all kind of fastings, but unto those as Esaias and Christ do adhort us to.

Montan.

[Isai. lviii. 3—7.] [Matt. vi. 16—18.]

To pray for the dead.

Verily, to pray for the dead, either to go about any divine sacrifice, I wot not what; thou oughtest to have declared us, if by any commandment either example of scripture we were bidden or excited to do the same. If that no such thing may be found out in holy scripture, as it may not in any place; (for I wyne[4] that thou understandest the place of the Macchabees to have hereto none authority or credence;) neither that we renew the heresy of Aerius, neither that Aerius in this point hath been a heretick, thou shouldest not affirm.

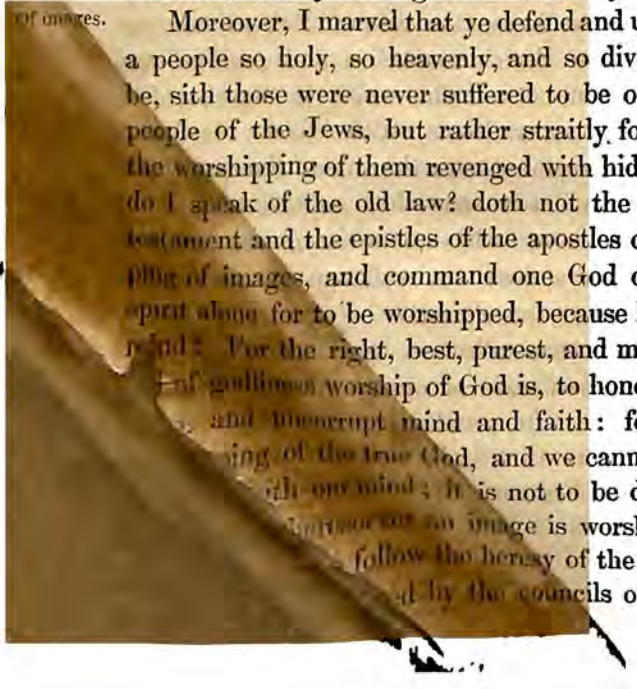
Of the christian priesthood

Also thou usest semblable rashness where thou writest of priesthood; for that we receive the communion with every profane man, yea with boys and women, neither do separate the order of priests from the rest of the people, that have not received the order of priesthood: in the which thou sayest

[3 Τίνος ἕνεκεν καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰς μέσον παράγει; ἵν' τοὺς αἱρετικούς, τοὺς τὸν γάμον διαβάλλοντας, δεικνὺς ὅτ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐναγὲς, ἀλλὰ οὕτω τίμιον, ὡς μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἅγιον ἀναβαίνειν θρόνον. Chrysost. Op. Bened. Tit. Hom. II. p. 387, 14. tom. IV.]

[4 Wyne: ween, suppose: "puto," Lat.

are worser than Aerius or Wickliff. But I trow thou speakest this of ignorance; for thou knowest not how great the dignity of Christians is. Christian folk be anointed with the oil of the Holy Ghost, and that by the benefit of Christ, upon whom that same joyful oil was poured with so great abundance, that unto all his brethren some portion doth redound: whereby also they be cleped Christians. But whosoever be joined to him, they be kings, they be priests, they be prophets: therefore all christian men be both kings, priests, and pro-
[Rev. i. 6.] phets. Hereof it is that John the prophet speaketh, that Christ hath made us to God and to his Father kings and priests. Hereby Peter calleth christian men, sometime a royal priesthood, and sometime a holy priesthood, for to offer up heavenly sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ: for that cause also Paul exhorteth all men, that they give and offer up their bodies as it were a living sacrifice, holy, pleasant, and true unto God. Besides this a man may find none other priesthood in the holy scriptures: although we deny not an order of ministers to be in the church, as I have shewed in another place, as bishops, pastors, doctors, deacons, priests, which be grafted in this ministration, not by this your anointing, but through sound doctrine, blameless living, lawful vocation, and by other gifts of the Holy Ghost.



of images. Moreover, I marvel that ye defend and uphold images among a people so holy, so heavenly, and so divine as the Christians be, sith those were never suffered to be of the rude and gross people of the Jews, but rather straitly forbidden of God, and the worshipping of them revenged with hideous plagues. What do I speak of the old law? doth not the scripture of the new testament and the epistles of the apostles condemn all worshipping of images, and command one God only in mind and in spirit alone for to be worshipped, because he is both spirit and mind? For the right, best, purest, and most holiest and most [illegible] worship of God is, to honour him with a pure, [illegible] and uncorrupt mind and faith: for if religion is the [illegible]ing of the true God, and we cannot see God with our [illegible]th our mind; it is not to be doubted that there is [illegible] an image is worshipped. But Flore- follow the heresy of the Iconomaches, which [illegible] by the councils of Rome and Nicene.

If this matter must be tried by councils and by the opinions of ancient doctors, Florebell shall not overcome in this controversy; for the sixth council of Constantinople, also the council of Elibertine in Spain, and eke the twelfth council of Toletan, utterly have condemned the use of images in the churches, and that under very good emperors. Leo the first began it, and after him the two Constantines, the fifth and the sixth; last of all Nicephorus and Philippicus, not consenting only thereto, but also persuading the same; and therefore they were named Iconomaches, that is, overthrowers of images: likewise Origenes, Cyprianus, Lactantius, Cyrillus, Athanasius, Chrysostomus, Hierome, Ambrose, Theophylact, Austin, and others right notable both in learning and godly living. Iconomaches.

Of the mysteries which men call sacraments, I will not contend greatly with thee, as who doth know[1] many more mysteries in holy scripture to be contained than we do reckon upon; yea, almost every sentence includeth a mystery. But when men of our sort entreat of mysteries, they sequester certain from that infinite number, and reduce them into a small and a few number; so that they call those only mysteries, either sacraments, which Christ hath commanded with any singular ceremony and promise, of what sort be that mystical baptism and the supper of the Lord: by which two things the sum of our salvation is represented; and those be, properly, testimonies of the Father reconciled and pacified, and of the forgiveness of our sins. The which if they be of us repurged from divers superstitions, with which they were shamefully defiled, and restored after the rule of the gospel and of the old church, why is it that thou reprovest them, as though they might be seen to have done it for the intent to renew matters, and for a desire to exchange doctrine, either for a lust to set against the church? Of sacraments or mysteries.

Over and besides, thou affirmest them to have brought in a new way to be confessed of sins. What is this way? to move eftsoons the people that they condemn, accuse themselves before God, to beseech him for their trespasses and wickedness. What is more, what more profitable for to know the benefit of confession the fathers of the old law did

[1 Because I know

the apostles and the church in their time and after did observe: but your confession is altogether new, which may be confirmed by no testimony of holy scripture.

Of the mass. Yea, also this your goodly mass, either that daily sacrifice, as thou termest it, and whereof thou makest so much ado, is it not plainly the invention of men, and invented to the greatest injury of Christ as might be? For where hath Christ ordained it, that any one person, clothed after the manner of players and counterfeited[1], turned from the people, standing at the altar, upon the which is set a certain hallowed stone, polished with an iron instrument contrary to the law, and the same covered with two or three altar-cloths, and decked, to play as it were a part in an interlude; walking now in this side and then in that side, and turning himself hither and thither, mumbling verses, I cannot tell what; and at length he must hold up a round piece of bread, which they call an host, and a cup finely made for the people to gaze upon, which, kneeling behind his back, worshippeth it, after that he hath lifted it with his hands as high as he can above his head? by and by the same priest breaketh the gobet[2] of bread into three parts: that one he letteth fall into the chalice; he must keep that other twain in his hand until heaven and earth be pacified: he alone eateth all, and rinceth up the chalice, and accomplisheth all other things, which men both see and say these maskers to use to do:—I say, where hath Christ ordained any like thing? where commanded he the piece of bread to be worshipped? where, in any place, is it to be read in the holy scripture, that the Lord's supper is a sacrifice? where, that it ought to be offered for the dead as a sacrifice? God himself, (saith Florebell), a great while before Christ was born, maketh mention of this sacrifice, of this pure and sincere oblation, to be very pleasant and acceptable to him, by the mouth of the prophet Malachi. [illegible] crowked [illegible] upon the earth (as the writer of Satyrs [illegible]) and void of heavenly things[3]!' Is it this to under- [illegible] scriptures? is it this to play the divine? Malachi [illegible] of Christ his only sacrifice and oblation, by the

[illegible] [2 Gobet, gobbet: piece.]

[illegible] animæ et cœlestium inanes!" Persius, Sat.

which he offered himself and his body upon the cross to his Father, an host for our sins: these jugglers draw it unto bread and wine, or rather unto their fable of the mass. For what is that pure and clean oblation, but Christ, which "hath wrought no sin, and in whose mouth was found no deceit?" wherefore he alone was pleasant and acceptable unto God. Here, here, is that oblation and pure sacrifice, innocent, immaculate, by the sweet savour whereof the Father is pacified: and dare ye say that thilk wicked mass of yours was ordained to pacify God; than the which nothing can be to God more filthy, nothing more hideous, nothing more displeasant? I dare boldly affirm, that there is nothing among all the devised things of the papists, which be innumerable, more ungodly and foul; by the which wretched men be perverted from the true worship of God; and by the which God is more displeased, the benefit of Christ's passion more obscured, than by this which Florebell calleth, (and not he only,) a daily sacrifice instituted for to worship God. For by this tragedy and foreign gazing-stock the true use of the Lord's supper, and the lively remembrance of Christ that suffered and died, is taken away; and the christian people is only called together for to see, hear, and worship that they be ignorant of. O miserable thing and wretched! who may lament and cry out enough the unworthiness of this thing? I beseech thee, Christ, by that thy most holy body which thou gavest for us, by thy blood most pure that thou sheddest for our sins, to deliver thy people from so manifold and huge errors, and from this so miserable thraldom and tyranny, that men may serve thee only, our true Redeemer.

But let us discuss the two last points which remain behind. Of faith, and of the justification of faith, Florebell confoundeth many and sundry things together: and in them of j
all as yet he hath not satisfied himself; for he hath promis
that at another time he will set forth this matter m
subtly and more at large. And in case he had not bur
us with false accusations, as concerning this que
should not seem to be far from that sentence
of our opinion preach of justification. For h
to be the author of all those things, which w

[4 Rightwisely: righteo

and that without his inspiration and help we are not able to do any thing of ourselves well; yea, neither to endeavour nor to begin; and that the blissful and everlasting life cometh not to us by violence, and by that self nature of our good doings, but by the abundance of the divine goodness, (for so he saith,) recompensing our good deeds and wills, whatsoever they be, with so great a reward. I deem, Florebell, that I have faithfully rehearsed these words. But I pray thee, shew me why dost thou so much detest to grant, that we obtain the divine justice through faith, and that all our sins be freely and for nought forgiven us, for Christ's sake alone, if that we put our confidence upon him? Doth not Peter the apostle con-
[Acts xv. 9.] fess and preach this, where he saith, that God by faith, that is, through the affiance of his mercy, purgeth the hearts and
[Acts iv. 12.] souls of men? Also, when he proclaimeth that there is none other name besides that one of Christ given to men under heaven, by the which they may obtain salvation; whether is not Paul wholly in this, to teach us that excellent justice of Christ to belong unto us by faith? For what is it, I would know,
Rom. v. "Therefore we, being justified by faith, have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ;"—what is that?—than the which nothing may be found out more plainer, stronger, and
Rom. iii. more pertinent to put this question out of doubt. "By the works of the law no man shall be justified before God." Thou hast here, that together all good deeds, yea, the very best, as those of God's law, cannot bring us just before God, and do justify no man. And he addeth a reason why the law justifieth not, for that (saith he) it was not made for this purpose, to justify, but that through the same sin might be known. And Paul perceiveth his intent[1]: "Now verily (quoth he) is the rightwiseness, that of God, declared, without the fulfilling of the law, having witness yet of the law and of the prophets. The right-[illegible] not doubt[2], which is good before God, cometh by [illegible] of Jesus Christ, unto all and upon all that believe. There [illegible] difference, for all have sinned, and lack the praise that [illegible] lour" before God; but are justified freely by his grace,

[illegible] institutum," *Lat.* *pursueth?*—his intent:
[illegible] argument.]
[illegible] doubt.]
[illegible] gloriari," *Lat.*]

through the redemption that is in Christ Jesu, whom God hath made a seat of mercy through faith in his blood, to shew the rightwiseness, which before him is of valour, in that he forgiveth the sins that are passed; which God did suffer, to shew at this time the rightwiseness that is allowed of him, that he might be counted just, and a justifier of him which believeth on Jesus." Ought not these words alone, if thou be ignorant, teach thee how thou shouldest confess of the true justification of faith; and if thou be not ignorant, put thee out of all fear? But thou hads liever to waste words about false crimes and slanders, than to speak aright of the matter, either to keep silence.

First, thou sayest that Luther, not induced by places of scripture, hath taught those things of the justification of faith, but rather as a crafty man, when he perceived men by nature inclined to pleasure, to have found out this opinion, by the which the goodness and the mercy of God might appear to be magnified; the which should be lightly allowed[4] of wicked and shrews persons, for liberty of living sake; also of the unlearned and rude people, for the outward appearance of godliness and soberness. These things thou feignest, lest thou shouldst not be seen a good orator, which, by thine own nature, hast learned other men to lie. In like manner they feigned, to whom Paul was constrained to answer in the epistle unto the Romans; which did wryste awry the very rightwise doctrine of Paul upon the same question; for so he saith, "Let us do evil that goodness may come, as they missay of us, and as some say that we do affirm; whose condemnation is just." And in another place, after that he praised the manifold grace of God: "What then shall we say? (quoth he) shall we go forth in sin, that grace may abound?" And a little after, when he had declared that we were unloosed from the law by Christ, "What?" saith he, "shall we sin because we are not under the law, but under grace? No." So it behoved him to answer on every [illegible] unto such slanderers. Wherefore it is not great wonder [illegible] as well sustain the same slanders and accusements, [illegible] entreat of the said question, and expound thilk [illegible]

[Rom. iii. 8.]

[Rom. vi. 1.]

[Rom. vi. 15.]

Furthermore, that is a shameful blasphemy [illegible] affirmest that Luther requireth a barren faith [illegible]

[4 Lightly allowed: readily approved of. *Lat.*]

a certain trust, with the which whosoever is once endowed, albeit he shall grievously sin until the last day of his life, he ought to be careless[1]; neither any heinous trespass, how felonious soever it be done by him, may be to him death and destruction. Where ever taught Luther this? who ever heard it by mouth of him, or hath read it in print? With these subtleties and lies ye cause the true and sweet doctrine of Christ to be hated, disdained, and envied. We teach the sincere and lively faith, which is right firmly grounded upon the promises of God, out of the which do spring all good deeds and honest and virtuous actions, as it were fruit out of a quick and plenteous tree, and not an idle neither dead opinion or vain confidence. We exhort all men to mutual love and well doings, and for to have justice in reverence, that by those they may testify themselves earnestly to believe and heartily: and in all points we follow the way and rule of Paul, which after that he hath taught faith, proceedeth to exhortation and discipline of living.—Then thou seest, I trow, that neither Luther, nor any other of us at any time, have judged good works superfluous. If that Luther, to the intent he might take from us the trust we had in our works, and transport us to Christ, did say both our good deeds and bad to be sins; that is, not to be pure acts, but always envenomed with some shrewd affection; neither it is not a singular opinion of Luther's, but the sentence of the prophet Jeremiah, which is not adread to compare all our good deeds, which he clepeth justices, unto the cloth of a menstruous woman. Therefore, Florebell, thou mightest have let this alone.

Afterward thou sayest the place of James to impugn our sentence of justification. I marvel that thou canst not separate one faith from another, which art not ignorant that of men of your sect there be proposed ten kinds of faith, either more: for Paul and James speak not of one manner of faith. Paul understandeth by faith confidence of the mercy of God, when any acknowledgeth the grievousness of his sin, and yet for all that despaireth not, but believeth surely that his trespass is forgiven him. Marry, James reckoneth it [illegible] opinion, by the which some men did perish just, because they were baptized and [illegible] from uneasiness.]

called Christians, when for all that they would shew nothing worthy so great a name and profession. For this those James reproved, and declared that they had not the true faith which Abraham was endued withal, that hath opened in this[2] his faith he bare to God-ward, that he was willing to offer up his son at the commandment of God. But they had not this faith, but a certain dead faith, which the devils have also, by the which they believe that there is a God, but they feel no goodness of him; which if they might perceive, it would none otherwise be, but they would entertain the poor gently and aid them, and thereby they should testify themselves to have the true faith, and not the shadow: therefore this faith can justify nobody, since it is not the trust of the mercy of God.—But James saith plainly, that we are not justified by faith only, but also by good works. I grant: but he speaketh of the justice of works which declareth us rightwise before men, so that of them we may not aright be accused. Of the which justice Paul mentioneth, "If Abraham by his works were justified, he hath wherein he might glorify, but not with God:" as though he would say, Verily, thilk same foreign justice of well doing is necessary; but that same cannot bring us in favour with God. Therefore we have not agreed unto your sentence, as most vainly thou dost boast: but you[3] in the presence of Gaspar Contaren, the pope's legate, hath agreed unto our right doctrine of faith, and of his[4] strength and property, if the pope with his adherents would assent to the same. For when they were overthrown from the justice of works, they were brought to this point, to confess lively faith to justify, whereof before we have specified; in the which alone both hope and charity and all other virtues be contained.—Further, that thou callest Luther a very opprobrious person, which some time hath said that it was to be doubted of the epistle of James; art not thou rather not only a more unshamefaceder man, but also greater liar, which darest to uphold that the said epistle hath been allowed of the universal church at all times? Jerome witness, that it hath been doubted of the [illegible] and that it was without authority in the primitive

[Rom. iv. 2.]

Gaspar Contaren.

[2] "In eo declaravit," *Lat.*]
[3] "Sed vestri—consenserant," *Lat.*]
[4] His: "ejusque (fidei, sc.) vi et

that it was written and set forth of some other under his name, and not of James the apostle? For this it is false that Florebell saith it was approved of the universal church always. Nor I do not speak this to the end I would the same to be utterly rejected, in the which I know right wholesome precepts of christian living to be contained, but that I might something abate mine adversary's boldness.

Of purgatory.

At length Florebell is come unto that third place of the souls, in the which the souls be said to be burned and purged. But he maketh not many words hereabouts, as one that knew well those fiery flames to have been stored up sufficiently by them which went about to make whote[1] and to furnish their cold and empty kitchens. He saith this only herein, that Luther hath affirmed that place among his first disputations, in the which he agreed to the catholic church, and to Origen, Eusebius, Cyprianus, Augustine, and to many other; but that contented him not, for because he somewhat dissented from the received opinion of the church in the kind of punishment and pain; and that his scholars most of all disagreeth from the church, which set forth that there is none such place at all. But let Florebell understand that he confesseth to be ignorant of, that Luther profited so much in the knowledge of Christ, that he well perceived this your purgatory to be a very vain fantasy of men, devised for to get money: for who doth not know, that hath read any thing in holy scripture, that the apostles of the Lord made no manner of mention of that purging place? Verily, they would not have left it unspoken if there had been any such thing, either if they had known it to have been necessary unto salvation: for all that these men are wont to allege herefore, be all ready dissolved, and diligently by us confuted and made of none effect, so that our adversaries have now nothing that they may bring [illegible] against us, but only this their chief defence, the authority [illegible] the church; the which defence is now on every side with [illegible] undermined, and shaken with the engines and [illegible] of the word of God, that it may not long remain.

[illegible] Florebell sayeth those doctors, which a little [illegible] to have acknowledged this third place for [illegible] I will ascribe one place of Austin, to

[illegible] sibi calfacere," *Lat.*]

the intent it may be perceived whether our adversary speaketh true or no: for in his fifth book, entitled 'Ipognosticon,' after that he had set forth two places by the divine authority, the one of heaven and the other of hell, he saith, "The third place verily we know not, yea, we find it not in the holy scriptures." Whether seemeth not Austin here to speak plain unto thee, O Florebell? Notwithstanding I am not ignorant, that those good and holy men, antichrist even then working and going about the mystery of errors, have sometimes doubted, and written diversely thereof. But by their own advicement, their writings be to be tried at the divine scripture, that if they have perchance said any thing that do not accord therewith, we should reject them, and dissever the gold from the gold foil.

And hitherto we have touched places in the which our adversary saith that we have gone back from the church; for we have shewed that we do not swerve from the church in those articles, but themselves to dissent altogether, not only from the true and old church, but also from the holy scriptures, and the authority of the apostles.—Now, henceforth he passeth unto a sour reprehension of Luther's person, and thereby taketh occasion to go as it were into a certain delectable place, where after long disputation he might refresh himself a little with a slanderous digression. But these things Luther now regardeth not; for he enjoyeth that blissful life and tranquillity with Christ. For whiles Florebell putteth abroad his book, and I intended to send this defence unto him, which by right urgent causes was deferred until this time, tidings were brought of the death of Martin Luther; by the which I was more than men think sorry in mind: for I saw, by the loss of such a man, that we alone wanted not his pleasant company, but the sadness and[2] gravity of many counsels; and we were very sorry that our dignity was diminished by the death of so great a divine, and that our adversaries rejoiced. This thing was lamentable to his friends, anguishous to his country, and grievous to all good men. But, for because he had a certain continued prosperity in setting forth the gospel, he died more quietly, rather in his own time than the church's [illegible] departed unto Christ at that season, when he might

Luther's death.

[2] *Sadness and:* no words corresponding to these in the Latin. "Sadness," here, means "sobri[illegible]

lament his country of Germany, if he had lived, than help it. Therefore the lack of him seemeth me, that it ought to be taken with a better courage: for such chances ensued immediately after, that methought immortal God bereft him not of his life, but gave him death, that he might live a better life. He saw not Germany inflamed with battle; neither his liberty nor honour to have been brought into extreme danger. He saw not the power of arms of the Romans invading Germany, for to abolish utterly the religion for the which he took so much travail first of all men: he saw not his country foully assaulted of their neighbours: he saw not manslaughters most cruel; neither, finally, that city defaced, in the which he himself did excel with most right shining glory above all other men. Albeit, he seemed with a certain divinity and inspiration of mind to bode all these things many times before, but specially two days before he died; for he bid them which were with him to pray God that he would arise for to defend his church; for him thought a very great fire to be enkindled in the council of Tridentine. I truly judge Martin Luther, as well by his deeds which he accomplished notably for the glory of God, as by the opportunity of his death, that he was both born into this world by the divine purveyance, and taken away out of this trouble and hurly burly. Wherefore let us thankfully remember him, rather than pity him, that whensoever we think upon that most famous and right wise man, we might be encouraged to follow his excellent virtue.

Luther prophesied of the troubles of Germany.

But I come again to Florebell, which for that he re-creeteth himself with cursed words, and not with probable reasons, we will suffer him freely to wander, lest peradventure we should let him of his pleasure. In the mean season lest we stand idle, we will repeat a place passed over which seemed to stop the course of our disputation. ought to do more gladly, because that Luther of us, our adversary sayeth, have renewed almost. Therefore, as it may more day is bright, whether of two, we or ain a short brief declaration, and tainly for none other cause than great the treachery and sub- up the papistry.

What then, Florebell, meaneth that thy numbering, before this rehearsed, of ungodly persons whom men call heretics? whether to the intent that we might know many such to have been? but of that no man was ignorant. Or whether mightest thou make a likely matter[1] those whom ye call Lutherans to be heretics, because of our Lord (as I may put forth thy words) and of his apostles it was shewn and prophesied of before, that always almost such seditions and sects should reign in the church? and, if it were for that cause, we would the less marvel? We do not wonder that there be heretics; but we marvel rather at this, that ye do not know neither the heretics neither errors. I am determined therefore in this place to shew them thee, neither it shall be any hard thing for thee if thou mark the appellation of them whom thou accountest heretics. Alder first, who with Simon maketh himself God and Christ upon the earth? the pope. Who hath deceived the world with magical crafts, that is to say, (as Paul speaketh,) with false miracles and wonders? the pope. Who do chop and change for present money the gifts of the Holy Ghost, the sacraments and divine affairs? whether not the pope and all his generation of papists? But subtly Florebell omitted the fault of ambition, and the most sacrilege of all, when yet he touched the other errors of Simon. Certes I pass over Menander, Saturnil, Cherinth, and Basilides; for they forsook not their master Simon, saving that the Basilidians do not believe that Christ was crucified, but in his stead Simon Cyreneses, from whom the sect of the pope doth not swerve; the which sith it hath found out new means and ways to put away sin, beside the only sacrifice of Christ, doth he not deny, although not in word, but in deed, Christ to be crucified?—With the Gnosticks, doth not the papists entangle the weak souls of men, with terrible names, either of princes or else of angels, and [illegible] a doctrine full of fables and lies?—With the Carpo[illegible] also, do not they worship images, not only of [illegible] and Paul, but of a thousand others whom [illegible] the number of gods, and do offer to them [illegible] other reverences? Over and beside [illegible]

A comparison of all old heretics with the papistry.

Simon.

[1] "An ut verisimile faceres." *Lat.* [illegible] seem probable, &c.]

all things with allegories, and defile with counterfeited inventions; and that they make the body of Christ so heavenly and so thin, that they uphold it to be in infinite places, so that the gobet of bread be round; or else that the body be turned into bread.—Who is he that is either of Valentine, Secunde, Ptolemes, Cerdon, Marcion, and Apelles' sects, which perceiveth not them to follow dreams? What did the Nicolaites? did not they permit open lechery and whoredom for to excuse themselves; and did approve the superstition and rites of the Gentiles? They meddled in their disputations, I wot not what barbarous names, with the which they made adread and abashed the hearers; the which might cause a wise man to laugh rather than to fear. But whether do not the papists the same? where is there in any place more liberty of lechery than at Rome, and in the very synagogue of the pope? insomuch that Francis Petrarch hath said that there the most detestable lechery doth shew forth all her filthy power, *In cui lussuria fa l'ultima proua.* There is truly so great superstition in apparel, in decking of their temples, in trimming of their images, in lights and tapers, with six hundred like ceremonies, that if the old superstition of the gentiles should come in use again, it might confess itself overcome of the pope's superstition. What shall I speak of barbarous words, by the which unto unsely[1] and foolish folk they avaunt themselves to be marvelled at, but unto wise and prudent men to be laughed to scorn? For thilk words which they use in their disputations and books, they be words (as the poet saith) to be quaked at when they be spoken[2]; which sith every where they may be found, it is not needful that we spot our paper with such drags.—These the Hebeonites do follow, which among other be so foolish and so weak that they would not see the law, which consisteth in ceremonies, [illegible] may speak with Paul) to be abrogated; where yet, for [illegible] Paul with a loud voice witnesseth, that it is abro- [illegible] out, taken away from the midst of us and cru- [illegible] cross, also he forbiddeth that none should [illegible] eat or drink, either in the part of a feast- [illegible] change of the moon, either of the sab- [illegible] shadows of things to come, but the

Valentine, Secunde, Ptolemes, Cerdon, Marcion. Nicolaites.

Petrarcha.

[2 "Pone tremenda sono," *Lat.*]

body is of Christ." Likewise be not these new Hebeonites, which we clepe papists, corrupted plainly with this frenzy of mind? for what else, I pray thee, do their decrees contain, than a certain new Jewish fashion? Whom Paul for these words, and for that imitation, ironeously[3] doth scorn: "Touch not, taste not, handle not, which all perish with the abusing[4] of them, and are after the commandments and doctrines of men; which things have the similitude of wisdom in chosen holiness and humbleness in words only," when indeed they be mere madness and superstition.

Now let the Tatians come forth, which eke be called Encratites. They (as Austin witnesseth) received none into their company that was married, whether he were man or woman: they never ate flesh, in the which thing many sects of monks, and specially the Carthusians, do follow them. And as concerning marriage, there is none among all the monks and priests of the popes, which had not leiver have a hundred harlots than to have a chaste wife of his own. In the which points they have ensued also the fond devices of the Catharons and of Montan; albeit they have many things else consonant with them beside these: for the pope will be accounted as it were the Holy Ghost, attributing unto himself only the authority for to interpret divine scriptures, or rather taking upon him the perfection of the comforter[5]; for the papists do preach that all things were not revealed unto the apostles, which were necessary to stablish the church and religion, for that is perfect was not yet come to light: but they lie most shamefully, that this perfection came unto the pope and unto his prophets; which men clepe, some priests, and some monks. Also they vouchsafe to call women, which men clepe nuns, priests; (the which thing before the coming of Christ gentiles did use to do:) they boast of visions of Christ, and of his mother Mary the perpetual [illegible] and of many other saints: and they would the city of [illegible] because the pope dwelleth there with his harlots, to [illegible] Jerusalem and the mother of all churches.

Tatians. Encratites. Catharons. Montan.

[3] Ironeously: ironically.]

[4] "With the *using*:" "ipso pereunt abu[illegible]ing *to use*. "Α ἐστι πάντα εἰς φθορὰν τ[illegible]

[5] See p. 374. not. 1.]

Cataphrygs. Adamians. Quintilians. Artoryts. Helchesites. Theodotians. Novatians. Alogians.

the papists, with men of Montan's sect, which also be named Cataphrygs, with the Adamians, Quintillians, Artoryts, Helchesits, Theodotians, Novatians, and Alogians, with such like monsters, do both deem and teach. Truly the Novatians (as Jerome writeth) do always pretend straitness of living, to the intent they might have licence to preach in the congregations; lest, if the truth were openly known and set forth abroad, their credit might decay. With the same spirit they feigned themselves to preach good works: item, they feigned them to will all ceremonies to be well kept, and I cannot tell what other hypocrisies, when for all that they utterly abhorred the manner of the old church and religion: and they, when they had offended, would not be corrected. The which all, how well they do accord with the haughtiness of the papists, methinks it is evident enough: for as touching correction, Florebell his self confesseth, that the pope is in such a degree set[1], which ought to rule all men's manners, but no man should reprove him. And the selfsame likewise is established by a decree; for he shall judge all men, and his self be judged of nobody. And yet the decree speaketh more indifferently than Florebell, for it addeth, 'Except he be found to swerve from the faith[2].' But because the popes do not permit that now, Florebell speaketh after their own mind. And although Epiphanius saith, that in his time vanished away a certain kind of men, which were called Angelicks[3], because they worshipped angels, now of days if he saw the monks named Seraphicks, and the superstitions of the papists in worshipping of angels, he would not have said they faded away, but might boldly affirm that they be revoked into life again. Why shall [I] make mention of the Apostolicks[4], sith the Romish see coveteth to

Distinct. xl. Damnatur.

[1] "Ea sede collocatum," *Lat.*]

[2] Hujus culpas istic redarguere præsumit mortalium nullus: quia [illegible] ipse judicaturus, a nemine est judicandus, nisi deprehendatur a fide [illegible] Corpus Juris Canon. Lugd. 1591. Decr. I. Distinct. XL. col. 130.]

[illegible] in angelorum cultum inclinati, quos Epiphanius jam [illegible] testatur. August. Op. Par. 1837. tom. VIII. Lib. de [illegible] 45.]

[illegible] isto nomine arrogantissime vocaverunt, eo quod [illegible] non reciperent utentes conjugibus et res proprias [illegible] catholica et monachos et clericos plurimos. [illegible] se ab ecclesia separantes, nullam [illegible]

be called alone apostolical, and refuseth to receive all married persons into his communion and society? And there be some among the papists, that will not admit men having any possession of their own. In the number of whom a man may find also Pattalornichites[5], giving themselves so much to silence, that they set their finger upon their nostrils and their lips, after the custom of a man called Harpocrates; and they say and always object that is written of the prophet, "I have set a keeper upon my mouth;" interpreting that keeper, a finger: of the which kind chiefly be the Carthusians, and those as imitate Benedict, the author of their sect, which more properly might be called finger-setters, or finger-pointers, as it seemed St Austin. Manes[6], a man of Persia, being so named of fury and madness, of whom the Manichees take their appellation, said as Montan[7] did, that he was the Holy Ghost and the apostle of Jesus Christ[8]. The pope requireth himself to be both God and Christ upon the earth, albeit also he glorifieth himself for to have been the successor of Peter[9].

Pattalornichites.

Harpocrates.

Manes.

Montan.

putant eos habere, qui utuntur his rebus quibus ipsi carent. Encratitis isti similes sunt; nam et Apotactitæ appellantur. August. Op. ut supra. Sect. XL. col. 45.]

[5 'Passalorynchitæ' in tantum silentio student, ut naribus et labiis suis digitum opponant, ne vel ipsam taciturnitatem voce præripiant, quando tacendum sibi esse arbitrantur; unde etiam illis est nomen inditum: πάσσαλος enim græce dicitur palus, et ῥύγχος nasus. Cur autem per palum digitum significare maluerint, 2 quibus hoc nomen compositum est, nescio; cum græcè et dicatur digitus δάκτυλος, et possint utique *Dactylorynchitæ* multo evidentius nuncupari. August. Op. Par. 1837. tom. VIII. Lib. de Hæres. LXIII. col. 57.]

[6 Manichæi a quodam Persa exstiterunt qui vocabatur Manes: quamvis et ipsum, cum ejus insana doctrina cœpisset in Græcia prædicari, Manichæum discipuli ejus appellare maluerunt, devitantes nomen insaniæ. August. Op. ut supra, XLVI. col. 48.]

[7 Quod et illi hæretici faciunt, qui vocantur, Cataphryges, dic[t]
per nescio quos insanos, Montanum scilicet, et Priscillam, quos
prios suos prophetas habent, venisse Spiritum Sanctum, quem
missurum se esse promisit. Aug. Op. Par. 1836. tom. II.
col. 1291.]

[8 Non enim parvi existimari se voluit, sed Spi
solatorem et ditatorem fidelium suorum auctorita
in se esse persuadere conatus est. August. Op
fess. Lib. v. Cap. v. col. 197.]

[9 Hæc illi de quibus agebam norunt

Manicheus. Manicheus had twelve disciples[1] according to the number of the apostles; and besides those, threescore and twelve other disciples, lest he might not be seen in all points like to Christ; the which number the church of Rome observeth in her cardinals, and reckoneth it a holy thing. Manicheus brought with him a new doctrine, and a certain epistle of his foundations, to the which he required a more stedfast belief to be had than unto the gospel: he persuaded oft the same, and boasted of it every where, and advanced it forth, as it had been a new gospel: the pope commandeth his constitutions and epistles of decrees to be the rule of the catholick church, in all religion and in all workings; where, for all that, those should not be counted laws or canons, but rather the Alcoran, that is, a law of the unfaithful[2]. But Sabellius said himself to be Moses, and his brother to be Aaron: the pope doth not only imitate herein Sabellius, but also passeth him, for he transporteth upon himself all authority, both of Moses and Aaron; for Moses was both captain of the nation and law-maker, but Aaron was he that ruled all their religion, and therefore was called the high bishop. Marry, they two did exercise their offices by the appointment and commandment of God omnipotent; that the one in ruling the commonalty, and the other by ministering wisely religion, might together preserve the commonwealth: but the papists have accorded one pope both to be the head of the religion of the immortal God, and also of the worldly dignity; for who knoweth not that the pope hath challenged unto himself both swords, (as I may speak after their manner,) that, which the sword of the mantle may not[3], the same the sword of the hand may cut? In this which thing he doth not follow Sabellius alone, but

Alcoran. Sabellius.

Moses. Aaron.

[1] intelligunt scripturas secundum apostolicam disciplinam, secundum superbum et commentitium nomen Apostoli. Aug. Op. [illegible]. Tom. v. de Mor. Eccl. Cath. Cap. xxxiii. lxxii. col. 1152.] [illegible] quod etiam ipse Manichæus duodecim discipulos habuit, [illegible] numeri, quem numerum Manichæi hodieque custo- [illegible] Par. 1807. tom. viii. Lib. de Hær. § xlvi. col. 53.]

[2] [illegible]: there is nothing to correspond with [illegible] which is as follows: "cum non canon [illegible] Lat.]

[3] [illegible] non potest, hoc ipsum,"

Arius also and Macedonius and Mahomet three of the most hugest pestilences of the world: for all they did vex and torment with divers punishments such as refused to obey their mad doctrine; but those as would agree thereto, and for the defence thereof did yield themselves to death, they ascribed such among the number of martyrs in heaven: the which thing truly in the sect and tyranny of the pope is so manifest, that they themselves are not ashamed to confess it openly, as though they had done some notable fact.—What? Doth not the pope eke represent to us thilk Samosaten? for whereas before he was poor, by his sect [he] became rich. Samosaten would not be reproved of no man. He permitted not his priests to have anything of their own, unless he had given them licence. Whether do not all these things testify manifestly to be true both in word and deed in the pope?—the which thing also the noble poet Petrarch hath expressed, in a certain place reproving the Romish congregation of the pope,

Arius, Macedonius, Mahomet.

Samosaten.

> Fondata in casta, et humil' pouertate
> Contra tuoi fondatori alzi le corna,
> Putta sfatiata! è dov' hai posto spene?
> Negl' adulteri tuoi, nelle mal nate
> Richezze tante.

That is to say, Thou church which was founded upon humble poverty, against thy founder's mind thou exaltest thine horns, thou painted harlot, where hast thou put thy trusts? In thine advowtries and in thine much evil gotten goods.

Why was it that Sabellius, Samosaten, Photine, Nestorius, Eutyches, did so deem and teach of the Son of God, as though he had not been in deed, but only in name? in the which error and wickedness the pope and his papists do not give them place, whiles soothfastly[4] they do confess Christ to [illegible] the saviour and author of our salvation, but under this [illegible] dition, that we must redeem ourselves with gold, silve[illegible] monies, and with divers other rites and sacrifices, [illegible] ings, hungers, prayers, and with the worshi[illegible] saints, but also of images, and ungodly vo[illegible] which all the pope hath included in a [illegible] well as under a certain price; with[illegible]

Photine. Nestorius, Eutyche[illegible]

[4 Soothfastly: [illegible]

agreement neither those same things, neither Christ, (they say,) can profit any man. But what is this else than to confess Christ truly in name and in words, and in deed to deny him? which those seditious persons, and wicked Sabellius and others, used to do.

Certes, that the papists do redeem their folk dying after a new fashion (as Austin saith), that is, with holy oil, with holy water, and with certain superstitious invocations; in this point they by no means may deny but that they do follow the old superstition of the Heracleonites[1] (as I may speak of them by the way), which was condemned by the church.

Heracleonites.

Why shall I make mention of that Arius, and of the Arians? as of Eunomius, Macedonius the bishop of Constantinople, and of Apollinar, which, amenusing[2] the majesty of Christ, did diminish therewithal the mystery and mercy of our salvation, and made it of small effect? That very same the pope doth by attributing to himself and to the merits of men, that he plucketh from Christ. In the which thing what doth he but grant that Christ the Son of God is lesser than God the Father, (for the which article the Arians did contend,) but himself to be equal with God the Father, and greater than Christ? Item, this was the property of the Arians, that they would call themselves only, catholick people; but all other which right earnestly resisted their errors, they gave them names after the doctors which they followed; as of Athanasius, Chrysostom, Ambrose, men both in learning and good living full famous, they cleped their followers Athanasians, Chrysostomians, Ambrosians. What now other than this do our papists and always have done, whiles they name some Wickliffites, some Hussites[3], some Lutherians, Zuinglians, and Œcolampadians; but they vouchsafe themselves alone to have the [illegible] of catholicks and right true believers?—as who would

Eunomius. Macedonius. Apollinar.

Arians.

[illegible]racleonitæ ab Heracleone discipulo superiorum, duo asserunt [illegible]um ex altero, et ex his duobus alia plurima. Feruntur [illegible]ientes novo modo quasi redimere, id est, per oleum, [illegible] et invocationes quas hebraicis verbis dicunt super [illegible] Op. Par. 1937. Lib. de Hæres. Tom. VIII. col. 42.

[illegible] diminishing: "imminuentes," *Lat.*]

say, they be catholicks which do impugn and set against Christ, but they that defend be seditious.

I pass over Eunomius and the Eunomians, that did affirm that sins might nothing hurt us, if any man were only partaker of their sacraments: if that the pope and the papists do not promise, teach, and preach this, not of Christ's mysteries, but by their own, we accuse them of late causeless. But why they have called Aerius ungodly, either heretick, I wot not, except perchance (as some men think) he accorded with the Arians, of the Son of God: but as concerning that he denied that men ought to pray or offer sacrifice for the dead, and that he taught that men should not fast upon prescribed days, as it were by a commandment and a law, but freely and willingly whensoever they list, lest they might be seen to be underneath the law; also that there ought to be no difference betwixt a priest and a bishop; in all these things, I say, he taught agreeably unto Christ's doctrine and his apostles: the which Aerius himself also hath confirmed by the divine testimonies, as it is to be seen in Epiphanius.

Eunomius.

Aerius.

To what purpose should I bring in the Euchites or Psallians? whom, of praying which they used, we might call prayer-men or bead-men; for they prayed with a wonderful celerity and readiness of the tongue, and did sing psalms, so that they thought nothing else was to be done of them; neither to minister for the commonwealth, neither to apply learning, neither to defend widows and fatherless children, nor finally for the maintenance of their own living to dig, either go to plough, or to do any kind of work, but to live slothfully and idle, and so to profess themselves religious men: whose superstitious sluggishness and idleness certain monks have challenged unto them, for their own right and the pope's, that they may be judged to be true Euchites and Psallians. And, that those men declared of the feigned[4] purgation of men's souls, it is no doubt but that our papists have ensued it; either when they affirm that our souls [illegible] after death in a place, I wot not where; or else [illegible] mouths, whom they constrain to be

Euchites. Psallians.

[4] The more correct translation, prob[illegible] or fabulous, things which those m[illegible]

" Quæ vero idem fabulosa de purg[illegible]

devise, sometimes a toad, sometimes a mouse, now a swine, at another time some other unclean spirit, to come out: or that they have seen fire, either somewhat else, to have gone into their mouths. And be not they accounted among the principallest tokens of holiness in the pope's retinue, which go barefooted? what manner of men Philaster recordeth to have been reckoned hereticks, for because they went for the grace of religion always barefooted.

Philaster.

Donatians. Priscillians.

Of the Donatians and the Priscillians I have nothing to say, sith that the one is associate in monstrous opinions with the Gnosticks and Manicheans, and the other with the Catharons and Arians; of whom already mention was made. Albeit, that is not to be left untouched, which the doctors and prophets of the pope do follow, as certain delyces[1]; for that they turn upside down unto their own opinion and sentence (as Austin saith) by allegories, whatsoever is contained in the holy Bible, that might supplant their errors. Neither that may be despised of the pope, which the Priscillanists had in their institutions. Swear, forswear: the which thing in the council of Constantine was openly practised, where the pope persuaded the emperor to break his open promise, to the intent he might put to execution Jerome of Prague, with other holy men and faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ; the which thing to be eftsoons used at Rome, none can be ignorant that shall remember the case of Malatest Balion, who under the same goodly and most holy decree, "swear, forswear," lost his head. O the notable decrees of the church of Rome! But let us speak of Jovinian, Luciferius, Vigilantius, and Helvidius. Jerome maketh much ado against Jovinian, as though he were an heretick, and calleth him the epicure of christian men: the which verily whether he were or no, I do not in[illegible] at this time for to inquire out. But if he were called [illegible] epicure of Christians, for that he put his sovereign fe[illegible] the delights of the body, truly I ween he was no [illegible]re than the pope; for he is an epicure indeed, [illegible]istian men (if he may be called a christian) [illegible] swine, and that mystical boar under[illegible]od. What Aristippus at any time, [illegible]alus was there so dissolute, so

Council of Constantine.

Jerome of Prague.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]uasdam," *Lat.*]

delicate and so effeminate, than those which will be called most holiest and most blessed? Was there any one found out in that pestilent seat, which sticked to prefer the earth above the heaven, and to set Epicure before Christ, and to measure the sovereign blissfulness by pleasure? But let us shew of the rest. Neither Austin nor Philaster durst to affirm that the Luciferians were heretics. I do pass over also Vigilantius, and commit him to Jerome to be punished. I come unto Helvidius, whose error is contrary to the papists'; for he did derogate somewhat from the perpetual Virgin Mary, but these papists do attribute unto her too much, whiles they set her before their eyes for Christ and for God; in the which thing they do err a great deal more dangerously than the Helvidians, sith it is more perilous for a man to augment much in religion than to diminish. Pelagius the monk and Celestius be behind, whom it is plain to be gathered have lived in the same error; for they were the full rankest enemies of the grace of God, the which they made subject to the free will of man. They did uphold thilk grace to be given of God, without the which, for all that they affirmed, a man might be saved. They published that same grace to be given to every man; they did ascribe but little to the divine providence, either (as men call it) to predestination: original sin, which we may right well clepe viciousness, they made it nothing: they assigned unto children departing without baptism a certain place, the which afterwards the papists did call Limbus. These heresies and pestiferous sentences the church that then was hath condemned. But the church that followed hath allowed them; for such as now of days deface the grace and benefits of Christ, and do retain, teach, and maintain the opinions of men, they be called catholick, true believers, and the church; but those that speak against such opinions, that they might establish the grace of God and defend his benefits, they be named seditious, [illegible] hereticks. Thus all things be turned upsedown: [illegible] blind beetles and accursed call light darkness, darkness light; evil good, and good evil.

Helvidius.

It is more perilous to augment in religion than to diminish. Pelagius. Celestius.

Limbus.

Which things sith they be so, [illegible] the papistry and her congregation, which is spoken of by the

The exposition of the whore of Babylon.

woman in a whore's apparel, holding in her hand a golden cup full of uncleanliness, of filthy pleasure, the which first she reacheth out unto kings, and afterwards unto all people and nations. In her forehead she hath this mystical inscription "Great Babylon," the mother of unclean lusts and wickedness. This woman sitteth upon a huge red beast, replenished with names of checks[1] and curses, which is set forth with seven heads and ten horns. What is that woman than the papistry or the church of Rome, which in manner of a certain city and commonalty obeyeth the pope alone? Verily, that gorgeous and blazing apparel is the decking of the Romish church, and outward ornaments, in their sumptuous temples, with images, signs, tables, organs, vessels, vestiments, lights, gold, silver, precious stones, purple, and with such other like, with which we see churches and chapels trimmed withal. To these may be added the robes of abbots, bishops, cardinals, and finally, of their earthly god, the mitres, rings, shoes, horses, mules, their glistering traps, golden, ivory and silken chairs, their courtesans, and meyny of servants, with the which pomp and whorish beauty he blindeth men's eyes. After this followeth the golden cup, the which what shall we say else to be, but a cup of love full of poisonous enticements and whorish drinks, by the which she allureth unware folk unto her filthy delights and outrageous love, and turneth them as it were another Circe, which was a witch or a charmer, into divers kinds of beasts and monsters? Her venomous enticements be riches, honours, dignities, kingdoms, pleasures, which be set before them as follow the delusions of his doctrine. But this woman, not without a mystery, is called Babylon; first for that she counteth the luxury, excess, and pride of the [illegible] of Babylon; moreover, because there all things be medled together without discretion, and very much confounded; [illegible] living of men, conditions, kinds, doctrines, tongues, [illegible] things concerning both God and man.

[illegible] this, the prophet called the city of Rome Babylon, [illegible] he should have annoyed the emperors of Rome, [illegible] of Christ. And she is cleped the mo[illegible] a mistress of all wickedness and

[illegible] "confusorum," *Lat.*]

inventress of new filthy pleasures, and the which doth allure with wonderful subtleties lovers unto her from Christ. But the beast upon whom this whore sitteth be divers sects of monks, priests, canons, and of others (as they term them) ecclesiastical persons, and specially of purpled cardinals, out of the which, as by many and divers members in one body, this monster is compacted together, and thereby the woman, that is the papistry, is sustained; for by these sects the papistry hath been and is much enhanced: notwithstanding, this wild beast beginneth to wax feeble by age, that she cannot endure long to bear the burden. Also, that this beast is noted to be of a red colour; by that the cruelty and unmercifulness as well of the beast as of the woman is represented. Wherefore eke the prophet saith, that she is drunk and embrued with the blood of holy martyrs of Jesus Christ; for this fierce beast conciteth nothing than war, than manslaughter, than plagues, ruins, oppressions, calamities, destructions of kings, of people, of princes, and most of all of saints. John his self hath opened to us her seven heads and ten horns; for he saith, the heads be seven hills, upon the which the woman, whom we have declared to be a city, sitteth. Whereby it cannot be doubtful to no man, that the Romans be understanded; for Rome was founded upon seven hills or hillocks, the which every man that is any thing learned may know.—Last of all, this seemeth me earnestly to be considered in this beast, that she is signified to be full of names of rebukes; by the which thing methinketh truly heresies be notified, which in the papacy be covered under the title of the church and religion, of whom we have heretofore discovered some: for there hath unneth[2] been at any season any heresy of ungodly persons, whereof some erro[r] as it were into a sink, hath not flowed into the papacy, and besides those which the papacy, as first founde[r] maintainers, hath brought forth; lest they of themsel[ves] be seen to be barren. Wherefore now let my[self] of Italy cease to wonder if Francis Petrar[ch] willingly object unto an Italian, hath[e] of the Romish and popish church[es]

[2 Unnet[h]

Petrarch describeth Rome.

Fontana di dolore, al bergo d'ira,
Schola d'errori, e templo d'heresia,
Gia Roma, hor Babylonia falsa, e ria,
Per cui tanto si piagne, e si sospira.
O, fucina d'inganni! O, pregion dira!
Ove'l ben muore, e'l mal si nutre, e cria:
Di vivi inferno: un gran miracol fia,
Se Christo teco al fine non s' adira.

That is, 'The fountain of sorrow, the dwelling-place of wrath, the school of errors, the temple of heresy, whilom Rome, now false Babylon, and devilish, through whom is so much lamentation and bewailing made. O thou pit of deceits! O cruel prison! where the good perisheth and the evil is nourished and increaseth; thou art of living creatures a hell: it might be a great wonder, if God at length be not angry with thee.'

And other things else there may men read. Florebell, if thou wouldst get of us these sayings[1] so many and so manifold, how long wouldst thou speak! in what manner wouldst thou avaunt thyself! I think verily, time should rather want thee than speech; for in every error there is such matter, that thou mightest spend upon each one of them a day. And so could I: for I do not find so much want in myself, albeit I do not arrogate nothing to myself; but I perchance, for the great number of them that be which be able to defend Christ's cause both prudently and wisely, might be accounted in the flock of them. The love, riches, and dignity of thy Jezabel do make thee to be an accuser of us good enough: in the which thing thou attainest nought else than that as well thine unshamefacedness as thy lightness might be known of good men and wise; of whom there is a greater number every where than thou weenest.

But have we contended now long enough? for (except I be deceived) I see that thou art very weary, and desirest [illegible] these things which were falsely brought for the authority of the church, these be in such [illegible] confuted, that there seemeth nothing left be- declared the church, that she can be have confirmed her authority, which

[illegible] tot et tanta

is grounded only upon the word of God, with so great brightness and strength of argument, that there remaineth no place of doubtfulness. In those points which thou saidst we dissented from the church, we have so defended them, albeit very briefly, that there is nobody but may understand, that in those you have despised both the sentence of the church, and also the authority of holy scripture. Moreover, thou hast spewed out eftsoons many things against Luther and such others which ensue the authority of the true and ancient church; which uphold the security of Christ's gospel and God's true worship: thou hast burdened, torn, and allto mangled them with rebukes, wickedness, and viciousness. We willingly forgive thee these things, as much as they concerning our person were spoken: but that thou hast said against the doctrine of Christ which we openly profess, the same the most merciful Father of Jesus Christ shall pardon thee of, if, forsaking this false religion, thou wilt flee unto the faith and mercy of Jesus Christ. Neither let the Senacheribs, Antiochuses, Neros, Italians, Diocletians, and such like monsters, make thee aghast; for the church of Christ cannot be overthrown with no councils of men, with no weapons, with no craft or engines; for it is builded upon the right stedfast rock, Jesus Christ. But the false church, which is of the pope, because it hath its foundations upon the sand, it will shortly decay and fall, and overwhelm them that be found in it, although it seemeth to be builded with great and mighty force; for it shall be cast down both with the vehemency of the Spirit of Christ, and with the flowing of the flood of the evangelical doctrine, and with the stone cut out of the hill without man's strength and hands, the which the prophet Daniel describeth, that wonderful image of king[illegible] doms which do set against Christ shall be allto br[illegible] The kingdom of Christ alone is eternal: all other be [illegible] brittle, and much like to the vessels made by men [illegible] which with a small knock be broken. Therefo[illegible] of Christ and his kingdom shall continue [illegible] of hell and the power of the world.

Wherefore I exhort thee, An[illegible] dom, unto this most strong [illegible] port of salvation; and not [illegible]

covet to put their universal substance and hope in safety. In this church is that high and holiest authority and majesty of God and Christ; in this church is the true doctrine of salvation; in this is that holy and heavenly Spirit; in this is the true and sincere sentence of God's laws; in this the pure worship and true prayers. In this church, finally, is Jesus Christ, our Lord, our Saviour, our everlasting Bishop, King of kings, and Lord of princes, and Emperor over all men, at whose name it is necessary that the knee of all creatures, both heavenly, earthly, and infernal, do bow.

Ergo, because you, most godly princes, do worship this Jesus Christ, and have taken upon you to defend his cause; these arms, which we have bereft[1] out of our enemies' hands as certain signs of victory, ought to be dedicate unto you, and to be set in your senatory house, as it were in a certain hallowed temple. If that I, being almost void of all strength and unprovided, have overcome our adversary, Christ and his apostles giving verdict and pronouncing judgment hereof; there is no cause why any man should doubt but that you, and whosoever follow the true standard of our emperor, Christ, so that ye have all your affiance in him, at length ye shall have the victory over your enemies: the which I desire humbly as much as I can of God the Father and Jesus Christ most omnipotent; lest they may glory that we are forsaken of our God.

[1 "Erepta," *Lat.*]

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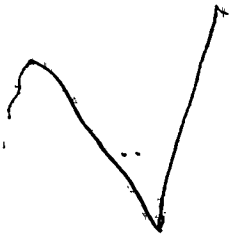

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